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A
STORY OF CEYLON
FOR SCHOOLS

PARTS I & II.

1505-1911

BY
FATHER S. G. PERERA, S.J.

COLOMBO:
THE ASSOCIATED NEWSPAPERS OF CEYLON, LTD.,
LAKE HOUSE, MCCALLUM ROAD.

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FATHER S. G. PERERA, S.J.,

THE ASSOCIATED ~~NEWSPAPERS~~ OF CEYLON, LTD.
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First Printed 1923

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTORY

- i. *Ceylon at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century*— 1 Kotte, 2 Jaffna, 3 Kandy, 4 Lesser States, 5 Constitution, 6 Justice, 7 Land-tenure, 8 Trade, 9 Language.
- ii. *Portugal and the Portuguese*—10 Portugal, 11 Indian Trade, 12 Discoveries, 13 Sea-route to India.

THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD

II. THE KINGS OF KOTTE AND THE PORTUGUESE

- i. *Coming of the Portuguese*—14 Arrival of the Portuguese, 15 Colombo, 16 Muslims, 17 Trade Rivals, 18 White Strangers, 19 Envoy to Kotte, 20 Portuguese Treaty, 21 Reception of Embassy, 22 End of Factory.
- ii. *Kings of Kotte*—23 Vira Parakrama Bahu, 24 Dharma Parakrama Bahu, 25 Malacca, Ormuz and Aden, 26 First Fortress, 27 Second Treaty, 28 Hostilities.
- iii. *Partition of Kotte*—29 Vijaya Bahu, 30 Fortress rebuilt, 31 Vijaya Bahu Kollaya, 32 Partition of Kotte.

III. BHUVANEKA BAHU AND MAYADUNNA, 1521--1545

- i. *Consequences of the Partition*—33 Rebellions, 34 Fort dismantled.
- ii. *Struggle between Bhuvaneka Bahu and Mayadunna*—35 Ambition of Mayadunna, 36 Aid from Calicut, 37 Portuguese help, 38 Kotte besieged, 39 Mayadunna's promises, 40 Renewal of siege, 41 Battle of Vedalai, 42 Vidiye Bandara, 43 Advance of Mayadunna,

44 Expedition of Ferreira, 45 March to Sitawaka, 46 Surrender of Malabars, 47 Factory of Kotte.

- iii. *Succession to Kotte*—48 Dharmapala, 49 Embassy to Lisbon, 50 Decrees of King of Portugal, 51 Arrival of Franciscans, 52 Quarrels over succession, 53 Flight and Baptism of Princes.

IV. PORTUGUESE AID SOUGHT BY THE KINGS OF CEYLON, 1545—1550

- i. *Portuguese Intervention*—54 Portuguese to enthrone Princes, 55 Bhuvaneka Bahu displeased with Portuguese, 56 Alliance between brothers, 57 Kandy appeals to Portuguese, 58 Embassy to Kotte, 59 King's changed attitude, 60 Portuguese intervention in Jaffna, 61 Jaffna, 62 Massacre of Christians, 63 Jaffanese turn to the Portuguese, 64 Death of convert Princes, 65 First expedition to Kandy, 66 Wikrama Bahu disappointed, 67 Expedition to Jaffna abandoned, 68 Portuguese opinion on the succession, 69 Second expedition to Kandy, 70 Its failure, 71 Mayadunna and the Portuguese, 72 Bhuvaneka Bahu breaks with Mayadunna, 73 The Portuguese with Bhuvaneka Bahu, 74 Mayadunna seeks Portuguese aid, 75 Portuguese threaten Bhuvaneka Bahu, 76 Castro's expedition.
- ii. *End of Bhuvaneka Bahu*—77 Arrival of Noronha, 78 Mayadunna turns to the Portuguese, 79 Portuguese settlers, 80 Investigation of rival claims, 81 Bhuvaneka Bahu shot dead, 82 His character.

V. PORTUGUESE PROTECTORATE

- i. *Don Juan*—83 Accession of Dharmapala, 84 Noronha's expedition, 85 Dharmapala becomes a Vassal of Portugal, 86 Noronha's thirst for treasure, 87 March to Sitawaka, 88 Retreat.

- ii. *Regency of Vidiye*—89 Vidiye seizes power, 90 Makes up with Portuguese, 91 Fortress rebuilt, 92 Arrest of Vidiye, 93 Tammita becomes regent, 94 Escape of Vidiye, 95 Mayadunna leagues with Portuguese, 96 Arrest and release of Tammita, 97 Defeat of Vidiye.
 - iii. *Conversion of Dharmapala*—98 Dharmapala becomes a Christian, 99 Effects of the Conversion, 100 Vidiye in the Seven Korales, 101 Death of Vidiye.
 - iv. *Mayadunna and Kotte*—102 Advance on Kotte, 103 Siege of Kotte.
- VI. DHARMAPALA AND THE PORTUGUESE 1560—1582
- i. *Portuguese Expedition to Jaffna*—104 The Start, 105 Capture of Nallur, 106 Sankily becomes a Vassal of Portugal, 107 Revolt of the Country, 108 Capture of Mannar.
 - ii. *Abandonment of Kotte*—109 Kotte and Colombo besieged, 110 Failure of siege, 111 Battle of Mulleriyawa, 112 Kotte surrounded, 113 Holds out, 114 Abandoned, 115 Rise of Colombo.
 - iii. *Triumph of Mayadunna*—116 Success of Mayadunna, 117 Plight of Dharmapala, 118 Warfare, 119 Attempt to poison Dharmapala, 120 Puppet King, 121 His religious zeal, 122 Rajasinha.
 - iv. *Siege of Colombo*—123 Rajasinha besieges Colombo (1579-1581), 124 Drains Lake, 125 Attacks city, 126 Failure of siege.
 - v. *End of Mayadunna*—127 Death of Mayadunna, 128 His character, 129 His achievement.
- VII. RAJASINHA I
- i. *Rajasinha's offensive*—130 Seizes Udarata, 131 Karalliyadde Bandara, 132 The great siege

1587-1588, 133 State of the city, 134 Conduct of the siege, 135 Assaults, 136 Portuguese ravage the coast, 137 City holds out.

ii. *Revolt of Kandy*—138 Bitterness of Rajasinha, 139 Udarata revolts, 140 Expedition to the Udarata, 141 Don Philip enthroned, 142 Revolt of Konappu, 143 Don Juan.

iii. *Rajasinha's end and the succession*—144 Death of Rajasinha, 145 His character, 146 His achievement, 147 Wimaladharma Suriya.

VIII. GROWTH OF PORTUGUESE POWER.

i. *Jaffna becomes a Portuguese Protectorate*—148 Kings of Jaffna, 149 Expedition of Furtado, 1591. 150 Nallur Convention.

ii. *Sitawaka re-annexed to Kotte*—151 Nikapitiye Bandara, 152 Manamperi Mohottala, 153 Sitawaka recovered.

iii. *Attempt to subjugate Kandy*—154 Success of the Portuguese, 155 Pero Lopes de Souza, 156 Dona Catharina enthroned 1594, 157 Jayavira slain, 158 Portuguese surrounded and slain.

iv. *Don Jeronimo de Azevedo (1594-1611)*—159 Azevedo Captain-General of Ceylon, 160 Rebellion of Domingos Correa, 161 Retreat from Sitawaka, 162 Siman Correa, 163 Capture of Domingos Correa, 164 Revolt of Jotupala.

v. *End of Dharmapala*—165 Death of Dharmapala, 166 His misfortunes, 167 Conversion, 168 Popularity.

IX. THE PORTUGUESE DOMINATION, 1597-1602

i. *Kotte becomes a Portuguese Possession*—169 Donation of Dharmapala, 170 Proclamation of Philip of Portugal, 171 Malwana Convention, 172 The Portuguese administration, 173 The Sinhalese system, 174 Domain of the Portu-

guese, 175 Officials, 176 Subdivisions, 177 Minor Officials, 178 Land-tenure, 179 Lascari-
 carins, 180 Spread of Christianity.

- ii. *Attempts on the Udarata*—181 Wimaladharma and the Portuguese, 182 Warfare, 183 Return of Correa, 184 Azevedo's plans, 185 Wimaladharma's activity, 186 Expedition to Udarata, 187 Revolt of Manoel Gomez, 188 Ring of Forts, 189 A deep-laid plot, 190 Plot betrayed.

X. WIMALADHARMA AND SENARAT INVITE THE DUTCH, 1603-1618

Dutch Visits—191 Spielbergen and De Weert, 192 Azevedo captures Balana, 193 Desertion of Lascari-
 carins, 194 Retreat, 195 Malwana, 196 Revolt of the Lowlands, 197 Antonio Barreto, 198 Return of De Weert, 199 Murder of De Weert, 200 Samarakon Rala.

- ii. *End of Wimaladharma*—201 Death of Wimaladharma, 202 His character, 203 Tactics.
- iii. *Senarat (1605-1635)*—204 Senarat, 205 Azevedo recovers territories, 206 Bent on war, 207 Treaty with Dutch, 208 Sack of Kandy, 209 Peace, 210 Azevedo's career, 211 His Achievements.
- iv. *The Dutch seek Commerce*—212 Marcellus de Boehouwer, 213 Murder of Wimaladharma's son, 214 Don Francisco de Menezes.
- v. *Homem (1614-1616), Pereira (1616-1618)*—215 Azevedo's instructions, 216 Boehouwer in Europe, 217 Expedition to Kandy, 218 Reform of administration, 219 Nuno Alvares Pereira.
- vi. *Rebellion of the Pretender Nikapitiya, 1617-220 Nikapitiya, 221 Rebellion in Seven Korales, 222 Oliveyra deposed, 223 Rebellions, 224 Peace with Senarat, 225 Pursuit of Pretender.*

XI. DON CONSTANTINE DE SA DE NORONHA
1618-1630.

- i. *Constantine de Sa, First term (1618-1620)*—226 Don Constantine de Sa, 227 Success of rebels, 228 Annexation of Jaffna, 229 Sankily regent, 230 Mutiny, 231 Expedition to Jaffna, 232 Jaffna becomes a Portuguese possession, 233 Fortification of Galle, 234 Ove Giedde, 235 Achievements of Sa.
- ii. *Jorge de Albuquerque (1620-1623)*—236 Jorge de Albuquerque, 237 Return of Sa.
- iii. *Constantine de Sa, Second term (1623-1630)*—238 Trincomalie fortified, 239 Senarat's alarm, 240 His opportunity, 241 Su's policy, 242 Expulsion of Muslims, 243 Batticaloa, 244 Plot against Sa, 245 Batticaloa fortified, 246 Mudaliyars of Colombo, 247 Sa raids Kandy, 248 Senarat attacks Jaffna, 249 Sa invades Kandy, 250 Progress of plot, 251 Expedition to Uva, 252 Plot discovered, 253 Retreat, 254 Battle, 255 Rout, 256 Prisoners.

XII. STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH, 1630-1645

- i. *The Portuguese in Difficulties*—257 Siege of Colombo, 258 Don Philip Mascarenhas, 259 Don Jorge de Almeyda, 260 Truce, 261 Diogo de Mello de Castro (1633-1635), 262 Peace, 263 Almeyda's second term, 264 Senarat and his sons, 265 Rajasinha, 266 Seeks Dutch aid, 267 Expedition to Kandy, 268 The Portuguese routed, 269 Revolt of the Island, 270 Don Antonio Mascarenhas
- ii. *Arrival of the Dutch*—271 Landing of the Dutch, 272 Capture of Batticaloa, 273 Treaty with Westerwold, 274 Batticaloa garrisoned by the Dutch, 275 Portuguese recover lands, 276 Dutch policy, 277 Capture of Trincomalie, 278 Displeasure of Rajasinha, 279 Fatal bat-

tle, 280 Capture of Negombo, 281 Importance of Negombo, 282 Fresh agreements, 283 Fall of Galle, 284 Importance of Galle.

- iii. *Opposition to the Dutch*—285 Rajasinha's alarm, 286 Murder of Coster, 287 Plot to betray Galle, 288 Recovery of Negombo, 289 Attempt on Galle, 290 Rajasinha's troubles, 291 Blockade of Galle, 292 Rajasinha's Ambassadors at Batavia, 293 Revolution in Portugal, 294 Battle of Akuressa, 295 Recapture of Negombo, 296 Attempts on Negombo, 297 Truce between Holland and Portugal.

XIII. • THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1645-1655

- i. *The Policy of the Dutch*—298 Rajasinha and the Dutch, 299 Dutch policy, 300 War, 301 New treaty, 302 Dutch territories, 303 The Company's administration, 304 Policy towards chiefs.
- ii. *Triangular Warfare*—305 Portuguese between two fires, 306 Friction between Rajasinha and the Dutch, 307 Termination of truce, 308 Dutch seize Kalutara and Anguratota, 309 Mutiny of Portuguese army, 310 Gaspar Figueyra, 311 The General deposed, 312 Temporary Government, 313 Figueyra's exploits.
- iii. *A new General*—314 Francisco de Mello de Castro, 315 Dutch at Kalutara, 316 The Portuguese fleet, 317 Battle of Kaluwamodera, 318 Figueyra repels King's forces, 319 Dutch besiege Kalutara.

XIV. EXPULSION OF THE PORTUGUESE, 1655-1658

- i. *Antonio de Souza Coutinho (1655-1656)*—320 Antonio de Souza Coutinho, 321 Fall of Kalutara, 322 Battle at Panadura.

- ii. *The Siege of Colombo*—323 Gallant defence, 324 State of the city, 325 Fortifications of Colombo, 326 The siege, 327 Attempt to storm, 328 Slow seige, 329 Rajasinha, 330 Valour of defenders, 331 Death of Hulft, 332 Delay of relief, 333 City assaulted, 334 Surrender, 335 Rajasinha indignant, 336 Fort and Pettah.
- iii. *Reduction of Mannar and Jaffna*—337 Mannar and Jaffna, 338 Troubles of Rajasinha, 339 Capture of Mannar, 340 March to Jaffna, 341 Fall of Jaffna.
- iv. *Career of the Portuguese*—342 First stage, 343 Second stage, 344 Third stage, 345 The Portuguese in Ceylon, 346 Dealings with Sinhalese and Tamils, 347 Religious influence, 348 Social influence, 349 Influence on caste, 350 Language.

THE DUTCH PERIOD.

XV. THE DUTCH COMPANY AND THE SINHALESE KINGDOM

- i. *The Company's Government*—351 The Netherlands, 352 United East-Indies Company of Holland, 353 The policy of the Company, 354 Seizure of ports, 355 Rajasinha's debt, 356 Dutch territories, 357 Claimed by Rajasinha.
- ii. *Dutch Administration*—358 Administration of Colombo, 359 Jaffna, 360 The Vanni, 361 Galle and Matara, 362 Administration, 363 Judiciary, 364 Revenues, Cinnamon, 365 Arecanuts, 366 Elephants, 367 Land Revenues, 368 Rajakariya.
- iii. *Sinhalese Kingdom, Sinhale*—369 Divisions, 370, The Constitution, 371 Adigars and Disawas, 372 Lekams, 373 Remuneration of officials, 374 Judiciary, 375 Land-tenure, 376 Cultivation.

XVI. RAJASINHA II, 1658-1687

- i. *Domestic Policy*—377 Domestic policy, 378 Attempts on life, 379 Rebellions, 380 Fakir executed, 381 King's unpopularity, 382 Desertion of Tennekon.
- ii. *Dealings with the English*—383 Foreign policy, 384 English prisoners, 385 Capture of Robert Knox, 386 Detained indefinitely, 387 British East-India Company, 388 Attempts to liberate captives, 389 Escape of Robert Knox (Junior).
- iii. *Dealings with the French*—390 French East-India Company, 391 Admiral de la Haye, 392 Treaty with French.

XVII. RAJASINHA II. (Contd.) 1658-1687

- i. *Dealings with the Dutch*—393 Jaffna under the Company, 394 Executions, 395 Dutch Ambassadors detained, 396 Dutch annex territory, 397 King complacent, 398 Hostilities.
- ii. *Kandyan Chiefs*—399 Power of Chiefs, 400 Fresh hostilities, 401 Land restored to King, 402 Company negotiates with Chiefs, 403 Embassy of Microp, 404 Dotage of Rajasinha, 405 Diplomacy of chiefs, 406 Maha Nayaka of Kandy, 407 Rise of the Nobles.
- iii. *End of Rajasinha*—408 Death of Rajasinha, 409 Personal appearance, 410 character.

XVIII. WIMALADIHARMA SURIYA II, 1687-1706

- i. *Growing resistance to the Dutch*—411 The new King, 412 New policy, 413 Demands, 414 First Adigar, 415 Proposed treaty, 416 The debt to the Company, 417 Annual embassy, 418 Terms of proposed treaty, 419 Denial of debt, 420 Tables turned, 421 Evacuation of territory.

- ii. *Religious Policy of the Company*—422 Persecution of Catholics, 423 Father Joseph Vaz. 424 Obtains King's protection, 425 Persecution of Buddhism, 426 Nominal conversions, 427 Demand for religious toleration.
 - iii. *The King's Trade*—428 Contest for free trade. 429 Rumours of war, 430 Disposition of King. 431 Van Rhee, 432 Opening of ports.
 - iv. *Other events*—433 Leprosy, 434 Gerrit de Heere, 435 Effects of free trade, 436 Johannes Simons, 437 Leper Asylum, 438 Thesawalamai. 439 Death of Wimaladharma Suriya, 440 Prosperous reign.
- XIX. SRI VIRA NARENDRASINHA, 1706-1739
 - i. *Contest for Free Trade*—441 Accession of new King, 442 Closure of ports, 443 Closure of Kadavat, 444 Other retaliatory measures, 445 Trade forbidden, 446 Rebellions, 447 Concessions to peelers, 448 Hostilities. 449 Change of policy.
 - ii. *Religion and Literature*—450 Catholic agitations, 451 Arrest of leading Catholics, 452 Sinhalese Catholic literature, 453 Religious activities, 454 Dutch Tombos
 - iii. *Sources of Revenue*—455 Corrupt administration, 456 Pielat's reforms, 457 Revenues, 458 Dyeing industry, 459 Elephant trade, 460 Pearl Fishery, 461 Coffee.
 - iv. *End of Narendrasinha*—462 His death, 463 Nayakkar influence.
- XX. THE NAYAKKAR DOMINATION—SRI VIJAYA RAJASINHA, 1739-1747
 - i. *Innovations at Court*—464 The new dynasty, 465 Indianisation of Court, 466 Ceremonious Court etiquette, 467 Factions, 468 Law of succession, 469 Sri Vijaya, 470 Religious policy.

- ii. *Accommodation of the Dutch*—471 Changing policy of the Company, 472 New diplomacy, 473 Demands of King, 474 Mission to Siam, 475 Death of Sri Vijaya.

XXI. KIRTISRI RAJASINHA, 1747-1780

- i. *Religious and Literary Revival*—476 Kirtisri, 477 Saranankara, 478 Siamese Mission, 479 Moladanda rebellion, 480 Perahera, 481 The Suluwansa, 482 Monastic records.
- ii. *The King and the Company*—483 Quarrels with the Company, 484 Kelaniya, 485 Demand for elephants, 486 Causes of insurrection, 487 The insurrection.
- iii. *Foreign Aid Sought*—488 British embassy 1762, 489 Mission of Pybus, 490 Failure of Mission.
- iv. *Invasion of Kandy*—491 Dutch invasions, 492 Kandyan warfare, 493 First expedition, 494 Second expedition, 495 Flight of King, 496 Sinhalese factions, 497 Kandy taken, 498 Retreat.
- v. *The Treaty*—499 The King sues for peace, 500 Treaty of 1766, 501 Dutch drive a hard bargain, 502 Attempts to modify Treaty.
- vi. *Dutch Administration*—503 Newly acquired territory, 504 Mutturajawela, 505 Cinnamon Gardens, 506 The Pearl Fishery, 507 Beginnings of religious toleration.
- vii. *End of Kirtisri*—508 Death of King, 509 Notable acts.

XXII. RAJADI RAJASINHA, 1780-1798

- i. *Arrival of the French*—510 The new King, 511 The Company's troubles, 512 Paper Currency.

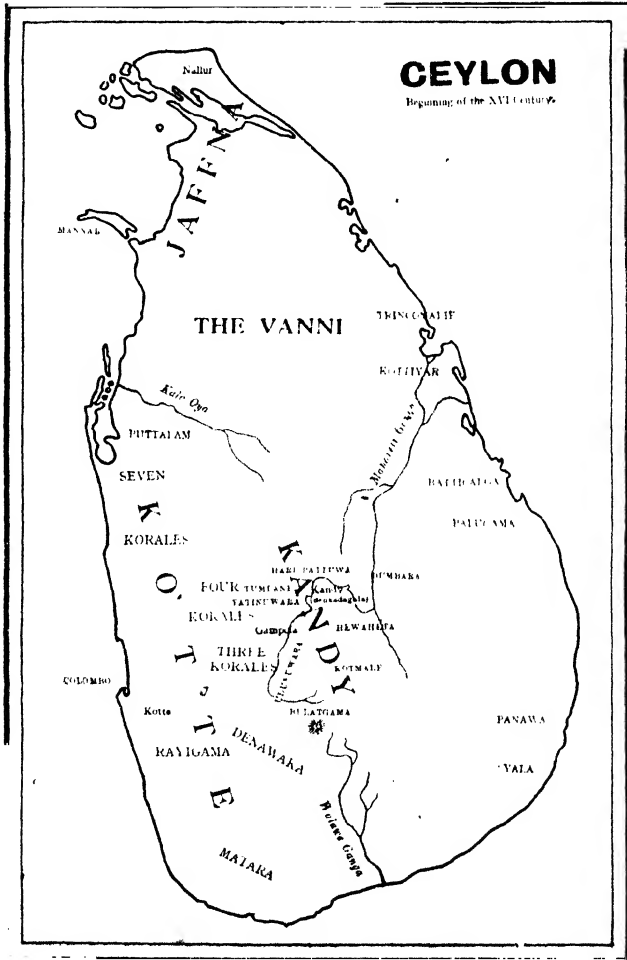
513 Outbreak of war, 514 Macartney's plans, 515 Boyd's Embassy, 516 Boyd captured by the French.

- ii. *The French, the Sinhalese and the Dutch*—517 Suffren and the English, 518 French capture of Trincomalie, 519 Rajadi and the Dutch, 520 Pilima Talauwa, 521 Expedition abandoned, 522 Cinnamon and Agriculture, 523 The Vanni, 524 The Dutch and the English, 525 The Batavian Republic.
- iii. *Loss of Dutch Forts to the English*—526 The English aims, 527 Dutch accept English help, 528 Change their mind, 529 Surrender of Trincomalie, 530 Terms of surrender, 531 Reduction of the Forts, 532 Mannar and Kalpitiya, 533 Negombo, 534 Embarrassment of the Dutch.

XXIII. CAPITULATION OF COLOMBO

- i. *Preparations*—535 Preparations against Colombo, 536 Transfer of the regiment de Meuron, 537 Colonel de Meuron, 538 Embassy to Kandy, 539 Robert Andrews, 540 Failure of embassy, 541 Embassy to Madras, 542 Terms of the Treaty, 543 Advantage of treaty.
- ii. *The Surrender*—544 Siege of Colombo, 545 Colombo summoned, 546 Reasons for surrender, 547 Desertions, 548 Terms of Capitulation, 549 City delivered to the English.
- iii. *Dutch Rule in Ceylon*—550 Dutch rule, 551 Dealings with sovereign, 552 Dealings with people, 553 Benefits of the Company's rule, 554 Beneficial institutions, 555 Development of communications, 556 Survivals of Dutch rule, 557 Indo-Portuguese, 558 Dutch words in Sinhalese, 559 Incomplete account, 560 Dutch records.

Beginning of the XVI century.



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY

I.

CEYLON AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the island of Ceylon was politically divided into three chief kingdoms, Kōṭṭe, Jaffna, and Kandy, and a number of lesser states. The kingdom of Kōṭṭe was the richest, the largest in size, and the greatest in power. It consisted of the south-west portion of the island, from the central hills to the sea, from Kalā-Ōya to Walavē-Ganga. This tract was divided into the provinces of the Seven-Kōralēs, the Four-Kōralēs, the Three-Kōralēs, Raigama, Denavaka, and Mātara, each of which was governed by a ruler appointed by the king. The king resided at Kōṭṭe, a fortified town with palaces and temples protected by a moat and walls and battlements. Its name in full was Jayawardhana Kōṭṭe or the 'Fortified City of Victory', and it was situated a few miles from the harbour of Colombo. A site in the proximity of Colombo was probably chosen because of its trade which was in the hands of Muslims, a number of whom lived at the seaports.

The king of Kōṭṭe, as the heir to the traditions and glories of the ancient Sinhalese kings, claimed imperial rights over the rest of the island, and was called the *Chakravartī*, 'Overlord' or Emperor of Lanka. Once a year each sub-king or prince or ruler of state came to Kōṭṭe with his retinue and tribute for the *Perahera* or muster of the states. This *Perahera* was held on sixteen successive nights, and failure to attend the *Perahera* was punished with war.

The kingdom of Jaffna consisted of the northern peninsula, called Yālpānam in Tamil and in Sinhalese Yāpanē, along with the neighbouring

2. JAFFNA islets, a portion of the adjacent lands, and the sea coast up to the island of Mannār. In the sixteenth century that kingdom was inhabited by Hindu Tamils who had come to this island as conquerors or settlers. Before their time it was peopled by Buddhist Sinhalese, as shown by the recently discovered remains of vihāras and dāgobas and by the large number of Tamilicised Sinhalese place-names. About the thirteenth century it grew to be a distinct Tamil kingdom which soon became so powerful as to demand tribute from the other kings. It was, however, reduced to subjection by the king of Kōṭṭe, but by the sixteenth century it had again become independent of Kōṭṭe, though the latter had not ceased to claim imperial rights. The capital of the kingdom was Nallūr, a fortified town with walls and battlements.

The central highlands consisted of five *ratas* or counties: of (1) Uḍunuwara including Kotmalē and Uda Bulatgama, (2) Yaṭīnuwara, (3) Dumbāra, (4) Harispattuwa including Tumpāne, and (5) Hewaheta.

3. KANDY Together they formed a sub-kingdom known as the Five-Ratas-on-the-Hills, *Kande-uḍa-pas-raṭa*, or *Uḍarata* which signifies the 'Highlands'. *Kande-uḍa-pas-raṭa* came to be called Kande for short, and its king the king of Kande by European writers, thus giving rise to the present name of Kandy applied both to the town and the kingdom. The court of its king was formerly at Gampola on the Mahaveli-Ganga, but about 1540 the capital was transferred to Senkaḍagala, afterwards named Maha Nuwara and now Kandy. Its king was always a near relative and tributary of the king of Kōṭṭe. The country was inaccessible and woody.

and sparsely populated. The inhabitants, like the king, were Sinhalese.

Between the kingdoms of Kandy and Jaffna there were a number of lesser states, called collectively the Vanni, and traditionally divided into eighteen districts, under the rule of chiefs called Vanniyārs. **4. LESSER STATES** Trincomalie, Batticaloa, Pānava, Kottiyār, Yāla, Pālu gama on the eastern coast, and Puttlam on the west were also Vanniates.

The Sinhalese kings were absolute rulers, whose will was the law of the land. However, it is known that they had a council which had **5. CONSTITUTION** to be consulted on important affairs of state. But both king and council were subject to the law of custom, namely unwritten laws handed down from father to son and determining the rights and duties of kings and princes and people. The government of the country in civil, judicial, and military matters, was conducted by means of the headman system. The king appointed the rulers who in turn nominated chiefs who selected the minor headmen over each village or group of villages. It was the business of these headmen to see to the collection of revenue, performance of public works, such as the keeping of roads and bridges and tanks in repair; to settle disputes and muster the forces when necessary; all of which was done according to immemorial custom. The most important custom was that of caste, which regulated the duties and rights of men according to birth. The system of caste existing in Ceylon was not the Brahminical system, but the South-Indian or Dravidian system, of which the king of the land was the head and the source. He could reduce a man's caste by forcing him to associate with any

caste he pleased. The whole community might also out-caste a man; but neither king nor people could raise a man's caste: that is fixed by birth. To settle disputed questions of caste there was a council called the *Raṭē Sabha*.

Quarrels between man and man regarding land, inheritance, and the like, were settled by a village council called the *Gansabha* according to the custom prevailing in the village. But the *Gansabha* could

6. JUSTICE

not enforce its decision on an unwilling member, unless it was ratified by the headman. The *Gansabha* also distributed among the villagers the public duties necessary for the welfare of the village. The headman inquired into and punished crime with fines and imprisonment, all regulated by custom. Any one dissatisfied with the decision of the headman might appeal to a higher chief and ultimately to the king. The headman received no pay, but his lands were cultivated for him by the people, who had, moreover, to give him customary presents or *dekum* at stated times.

The people held land in return for services rendered to the king or on his behalf to the headman.

7. LAND TENURE

There were royal villages or *gabaḍāgam* which the people cultivated for the king, and *nindagam* or lands given to chiefs. Other lands were cultivated by paying a tax, *ottu* or *ande*, in produce to the king or chief. All services rendered to the king or the community, such as keeping watch, carrying messages, manufacturing arms, erecting halls for public use, were recompensed by grants of lands, the holders of which were obliged to perform specific duties at stated times. There were likewise *dēwālēgam* and *viḥāragam*, lands dedicated to *dēwāles* and *viḥāras* which were cultivated

by tenants who had certain duties to render to the dēwāle or vihāra according to custom and caste.

There does not appear to have been any cultivation for purposes of trade. Trade was a royal monopoly. The people bartered

8. TRADE the produce of their lands for the necessary domestic wants such as salt, fish, cloth, and the like. Anything beyond this was of no use to anybody, for no man could better his occupation or dwelling or raiment, as all that was settled by the rigid rules of caste. Without trade there



Sinhalese Coins

was no great need of coins and the most common coins current at this time were the *Dambadoni Kāsi* and the *fanam* or *panama*.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Sinhalese language had undergone a momentous change.

9. LANGUAGE The previous century was a poetic age when some of the best writers flourished, and there was a great diffusion of learning among the people at large. The original purity of the Sinhalese language had been abandoned for a form of composition abounding in foreign terms and Elu-Sanskrit style, and by the adoption of elegant rhymes in place of blank verse, introduced by poets like Totagamuwa in his *Kavya-sēkera*, *Selalihini Sandēsa*, and *Paravi-Sandēsa*, or

Wettewe in the *Guttīla*,¹ or Veedagama in the *Budugunāṅkara* and *Loweda Sangrahaya*. These led the way to Alagiyawanna Mohottāla, the great poet of the sixteenth century.

II.

PORTUGAL AND THE PORTUGUESE

Portugal is one of the smallest kingdoms of Europe. It is situated on the extreme west of that continent and has a long coast line watered by the mighty Atlantic. It first became a separate kingdom in consequence of the spirit of chivalry engendered by the Crusades, for it was previously governed by the Moors, as the Turks of Mauritania were called in Spain. A fierce war was waged between the Celtic inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula and the Moorish armies, and the chivalry of Christendom went to the aid of the Christians. One of these knights, Count Henry of Burgundy, soon became duke of the county of Portugal, which gradually grew into a kingdom by extending its domain. The Portuguese nation thus called into existence began to carry its conquests abroad and stormed the Moorish stronghold of Ceuta in Africa in 1415. This was the first of a series of African expeditions which wasted the boundless energy of the new nation. But one of the Portuguese princes named Henry, son of John the Great and of Philippa of Lancaster, conceived the idea of diverting the trade of Asia and its profits from the hands of the Moors to the Portuguese, by sailing round Africa to discover a sea route to India.

At that time the wealth of the East was brought to Europe by a long route, being carried over land to the Levant or borne up the Red Sea and then carried by camels across Egypt and thence finally to Venice, whence it was distributed over Europe. If

11. INDIAN TRADE

it could be brought by sea direct to Lisbon, all the danger and cost would be avoided, and Lisbon would become the market of Europe. Prince Henry, who has been surnamed the Navigator, established an observatory at Sagre near Cape St. Vincent and devoted his time and wealth to maritime exploration. He invited the foremost astronomers and mathematicians and perfected the nautical instruments and despatched daring captains on voyages of discovery.



Vasco da Gama

The hardy and adventurous Portuguese sailors, bred on the rough Atlantic, set forth year after year and explored the west coast of Africa.

12. DISCOVERIES They discovered the island of Porto Santo in 1419, Madeira in 1420, the Canary islands and the Azores in 1431. Continuing

the explorations with great perseverance, they reached Cape Branco or the White Cape, the Senegal River, and Guinea in 1445, and Cape Verde in 1446. Meanwhile there arose political troubles in Portugal and the discoveries led to the slave trade. Prince Henry died in 1460; but the gallant captains trained by him carried on the work of exploration and they crossed the equator in 1471, reached the Congo in 1484, Algoa Bay in 1486 and doubled a cape which they named the Stormy Cape and which the king, foreseeing the end of a long attempt, called by the name of Cape of Good Hope, which it still bears. Finally in 1497 Vasco da Gama crowned the hopes of a century by sailing from Lisbon to Calicut in India.

At this distance of time, accustomed as we are to rapid means of locomotion by sea, land, and air, we

13. SEA ROUTE TO INDIA

cannot fully realize the importance of this discovery which linked the East and the West. Hitherto there was little communication between Europe and Asia, and that little by a tedious and dangerous land route. Consequently the West knew little of the East except marvellous stories of its riches. The Asiatic peoples, separated from Europe by a vast extent of land and sea, had little knowledge of the peoples of the West. When communications were established, the influx was from Europe to Asia, very little or none at all from Asia to Europe. The Europeans who flocked to the East in large numbers were mostly adventurers, soldiers, and merchants, who represented the more fierce and lawless elements rather than the better aspects of European civilization and culture. Thus the proverbially unchanging East, with its age-long civilization and material stagnation, became the scene of the lusty energy and superior force of the West. Eastern

thought, manners, and institutions began to be powerfully affected by the new ideas of war and commerce and religion. And the history of Ceylon for the next three centuries is largely the record of this external stimulus and internal reaction.

PART I.
THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD
1505—1658

CHAPTER II.
THE KINGS OF KOTTE AND THE
PORTUGUESE 1505—1521

1. KINGS OF KOTTE

Vira Parākrama Bāhu	1484--1509
Dharma Parākrama Bāhu	1505--1509
Vijaya Bāhu	1509--1521

2. KINGS OF JAFFNA

Pararasa Sekeran	1478--1519
Chekarasa Sekeran (Sankily)	1519--1561

3. KING OF KANDY

Wickrema Bāhu (Jayavīra Bandāra)

1.

COMING OF THE PORTUGUESE

In 1505, eight years after Vasco da Gama had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, when Vira Parākrama Bāhu VIII was king of Kōṭṭe, Wickrema Bāhu, king of the Hill-country, and Pararāsa Sekaran, king of Jaffna, a Portuguese fleet was forced by wind and waves to land in Ceylon. The captain-major of the fleet was a young nobleman named Don Lourenco de Almeida, son of the first Portuguese viceroy of India. He had set out from Cochin to intercept the richly laden Muslim ships bound from China to the Persian Gulf which were avoiding the usual route, now infested by the Portuguese, and were passing by the Maldivé Islands. Don Lourenco, being

caught in a storm, was driven unawares to the southern coast of Ceylon and put into the harbour of Galle. When he learnt that this unknown country was the far famed island of Ceylon, he coasted on to Colombo which he was told was the port nearest to the capital of the island.

Colombo, then called Kolamba or Kolontota, was the chief anchorage for ships and the mart of the island's trade. This trade, chiefly in

15. COLOMBO cinnamon, coconuts, and elephants, was in the hands of Muslim traders, descendants of the seafaring Arabs. They had many storehouses or *bangasālas* in which they stocked their merchandise. The population of the town was largely Muslim, and there was a mosque, a Muslim cemetery, and a court house to settle disputes according to Muslim law. The township lay on the bank of a rivulet, an outlet of the Kelany river, which entered the sea near the modern Pettah. Over the rivulet was a bridge, and large and broad streets intersected the town. At the mouth of this rivulet there was a fairly safe anchorage for ships.

The Muslims were an object of hatred to the Portuguese. The latter were Christians, the former Mohammedans, and between the

16. MUSLIMS two for many centuries past raged the wars of the Crusades. Moreover, the object of the Portuguese explorations was to wrest the trade of India and its profits from the Muslims who had been masters of the Indian seas for many centuries. Nowadays rival traders oust each other by peaceful competition, but in those rough times by sheer might and open piracy. The Portuguese and the Muslims therefore fought each other wherever they met, and merchant ships always carried guns and generally sailed together for mutual help.

When Don Lourencó appeared off Colombo, there were a number of Muslim ships engaged in loading or landing cargo, and all took alarm

17. TRADE RIVALS at the unexpected appearance of the hated rival. The captain-

major, however, who had so recently been storm-tossed and had come to hold communication with the king of the country, did not wish to be hostile and assured the Muslims of his peaceful intentions. He had heard of Ceylon, of its spices and elephants and pearls, and his king had even directed his father, the viceroy, to explore Ceylon. Glad therefore to have come unexpectedly upon the island, he desired to send an embassy to the king, and sought information from the Muslim captains. They were not disposed to let their rivals know how fruitful and fair this island was, and they tried to dissuade the Portuguese commander from entering into negotiations with the Sinhalese king. At their instigation the townspeople of Colombo set upon a party of sailors who had gone on shore for wood and water, but a volley from the ships' cannon soon cleared the shores.

Meanwhile news of the arrival of a strange fleet reached the king at Kōtṭe. According to a Sinhalese chronicle, the *Rājāvaliya*, the message was couched in this form.

18. WHITE STRANGERS

"There is in our harbour of Colombo a race of people, fair of skin and comely withal. They don jackets and hats of iron; rest not a minute in one place, but walk here and there. They eat hunks of stone and drink blood. They give two or three pieces of gold and silver for one fish or one lime. The report of their cannon is louder than thunder when it bursts upon the rock of Yugandhara."

The king promptly summoned his council and on its advice decided to receive the newcomer. It was,

19. ENVOY TO KOTTE however, thought unsafe to let him see that Kōtṭe was so near Colombo, and the Portuguese envoy was led

by a circuitous route, up hill and down dale, for three long days. A ship's captain who had found his way over the wide ocean from Lisbon to India, could not be easily deceived in his bearings. Don Lourenco, moreover, had taken the precaution of retaining hostages for the safe return of his envoy, and had agreed to fire a gun at every turn of the hour-glass. From the report of the gun the envoy, Fernão Cutrim, saw quite clearly that he was being led in a roundabout way. He was commissioned to pay the commander's compliments and inquire whether the king would enter into a treaty with the Portuguese. He did not see the king or converse with him but was assured that the king would be pleased to form an alliance. With this message Cutrim returned along with some of the king's people and elephants to conduct an ambassador.

Payo de Souza was thereupon chosen by Don Lourenco to wait upon the king and negotiate a treaty.

20. PORTUGUESE TREATY To understand the object of this treaty one must know that the purpose of the Portuguese was trade, and that trade a royal monopoly. The kings and princes of India were invited to give this monopoly to the king of Portugal, in return for the protection of their shores. If they accepted, a treaty was to be drawn up expressing this bargain in terms of feudal vassalage. Such a treaty Payo de Souza proposed to the king of Kōtṭe at an audience. Of this, the first European embassy to a Sinhalese king, there exists a classic description given by the king of Portugal to the Pope of Rome

when he announced to the pontiff the discovery of Taprobane.

“There was a large hall at the far end of which was a magnificent throne wrought like an altar. On it sat the king, clad according to the fashion of the country and wearing on his head something like horns studded with the fairest gems of the country. Around the king were six men, three on either side, holding lighted candles of large size, and many large silver candlesticks illumined the hall. On either side of the hall stood a large number of gentlemen and nobles, leaving a free passage in the middle leading to the throne. There the king received our ambassador with great affability and listened to him with great pleasure and granted his requests with great courtesy. He promised to pay annually one hundred and fifty measures of the most excellent cinnamon of that country, and indeed paid the first tribute immediately.”

The Muslims of Colombo had no intention of letting the Portuguese set up a factory in Colombo.

Unlike their own factories which were only storehouses, this new factory was an armed stronghold

of the king of Portugal. The presence of foreign troops, however few, seemed to signify a sort of subjection. Thus it was easy for them to stir up the king and people against the factory, and the hostility thus provoked was so great that in 1507 the viceroy gave orders to dismantle the factory and remove the garrison, which was accordingly done. But he wrote to the king of Portugal that it would be good to have a fort in Ceylon, as all ships sailing from Malacca to Ormuz and the Persian Gulf must needs double the island,

KINGS OF KOTTE

The nominal emperor of Ceylon at this time was Vira Parākrama Bāhu (1484—1509) who was an old

**23. VIRA PARA-
KRAMA BAHU**

man and had entrusted the government of his realm to his sons. The eldest, afterwards Dharma Parākrama Bāhu, ruled at Kōṭṭe; another Vijaya Bāhu was at Dondra in the south, Rājasinha was at Menik-kaḍavara in the Four Kōralēs, and another whose name is not known at Raigama. Two of the king's nephews, Sakalākala Walla and Taniya Walla, ruled at Uḍugampola and Madampe. The two elder sons were rival claimants to the empire and both assert in their grants that they were the *Chakravarati* of Ceylon in the year 1509, which is apparently the year of their father's death.

Vira Parākrama Bāhu's reign was disturbed in various ways. A Malabar pirate from Kāyalpatanam began to invade the north-west coast and fish pearls in the Gulf of Mannār. The princes of Madampe and Uḍugampola marched against him with a large force of men and elephants and utterly defeated the Malabars. Wickrema Bāhu, the king of the hill-country, began to assert his independence by withholding the usual tribute, but the prince of the Four Kōralēs invaded the kingdom and exacted the payment of two lacs of fanams and elephants and the king's daughter to wife. Subsequently he made an attempt to invade the Four Kōralēs, but was again subdued by the prince of Uḍugampola and forced to send a pearl umbrella, a conch, a shield, and a neck ornament.

On the death of the aged king, the two elder sons disputed the succession. Dharma Parākrama Bāhu,

**24. DHARMA
PARAKRAMA
BAHU**

who had been ruling at Kōṭṭe in his father's lifetime and had received the Portuguese ambassador, had many supporters in Kōṭṭe; and wishing to obtain

Portuguese troops to intimidate his brother, he sent a message to the viceroy asking for troops and offering to give a site for a fortress in Colombo. But the Portuguese were too busy at the time, and nothing came of the offer.

They were then engaged in trying to oust the Muslim rivals from the Indian waters by erecting fortresses at Malacca, Ormuz, and Aden.

25. MALACCA, ORMUZ, ADEN Malacca, situated between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, commanded the Indian trade with China. Ormuz commanded the sea route to Basra through the Persian Gulf and the caravan traffic from Basra to Aleppo, Trebizond, and Damascus, whence Venetian ships fetched the Indian products for distribution in Europe. Aden, in like manner, guarded the sea route to Suez whence merchandise was carried by camels to Cairo and down the Nile to Alexandria and finally to Venice. Thus Malacca, Ormuz, and Aden, were the keys to the Indian trade.

Affonso de Albuquerque, who had succeeded Almeida as viceroy, made Goa the headquarters of the Portuguese state in India, and fortified Malacca and Ormuz. His successor, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, endeavoured to take Aden, but failing in this, he hastened to carry out orders he had received from his king to erect a fortress in Ceylon which lay on the trade route to the Far East and was the well-known landmark of Eastern navigation.

In 1518, therefore, Albergaria set out with a fleet for Colombo, but contrary winds drove him to Galle, where he remained some time and where he even thought of erecting the fortress. Changing his mind, he came to Colombo and sent an ambassador to Kōṭṭē

**26. FIRST
FORTRESS**

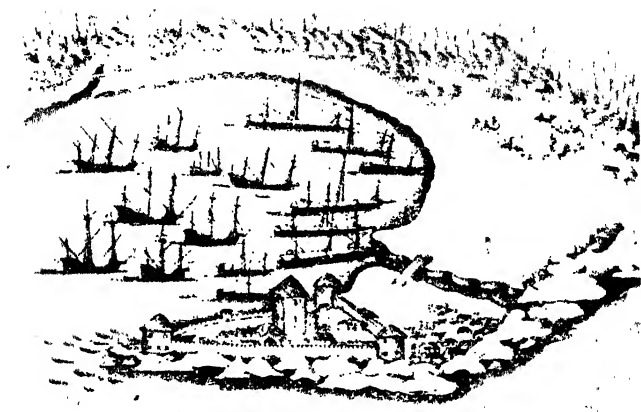
to announce his arrival and purpose. Dharma Parākrama Bāhu himself came to Colombo to meet the governor who pressed the king for permission to erect a fortress in Colombo against the Muslims. The king promised to grant it after consulting his council, but the Muslims meanwhile set to work to avert the calamity. They stirred up the people and the king's councillors, representing to them the danger of letting the Portuguese gain a foothold in the island. As the people had resented even the presence of a factory, they were easily moved to oppose the proposed fortress. Thus on the instigation of the Muslims, some Portuguese sailors who had come on land were seized, and a stockade was hastily erected on the site of the former factory and furnished with guns. Next morning volleys from the guns and showers of arrows were directed against the ships. Albergaria returned the fire and, landing with a force, burnt the Muslim quarter of the town and even advanced towards Kōṭṭē. But his men were ambushed and driven to retreat to the ships with some loss, and the stockade was re-erected. The governor then endeavoured to find out whether the opposition came from the Muslims alone or from the people of the country also. A message from the king was delivered to him laying the whole blame on the Muslims.

The governor thereupon decided to erect the fortress in defiance of the Muslims. He chose for its site the narrow headland jutting into the sea which now forms the base of the breakwater of Colombo.

27. SECOND TREATY

A trench was cut from sea to sea insulating that portion of land, whereon he built a small fort of stone and mud and supplied it with artillery from the ships. When this was done, he sent a message to the king calling upon him to confirm the former treaty of vassalage and pay tribute. (20) After an exchange of envoys, the

matter was settled, the king undertaking to pay annually to the king of Portugal four hundred *bahārs* of cinnamon, twenty rings set with rubies, and ten elephants. The Portuguese in their turn undertook not only to protect his harbours but also to help the king against his enemies. Then having placed a goodly



Colombo Fort, 1518

garrison, the governor appointed Don Joao Silveyra captain of the fort (1518—1520) and sailed away.

But the king's action in permitting the erection of a fort was intensely disliked by the people. An

infuriated crowd one night entrenched themselves near the fort and razed a part of the walls. The

28. HOSTILITIES

captain complained to the king, but Dharma Parākrama Bāhu was unable to protect the fort, as the opposition was led by those of his own household. These vexations, helped by foul means, as was believed by the Portuguese, soon brought the king to his end. He was succeeded by

his brother Vijaya Bāhu, who determined to call in foreign aid to destroy the fort.

III.

PARTITION OF KOTTE

Vijaya Bāhu (1509–1521) was unwilling to be openly hostile to the Portuguese and therefore asked

29. VIJAYA BAHU

one of the principal opponents of the Portuguese in India to attack the fort. This was the rāja of Calicut known as the Samorin or Lord of the Sea. The Samorin sent a Malabar force which, with the assistance of the Sinhalese, laid siege to the fort. Silveyra was short of provisions, which the townspeople of Colombo would not supply, and his garrison, moreover, was insufficient to give battle to the besiegers. He therefore tried a surprise sally, and one night with a small band of picked men he fell unexpectedly upon the besieging camp. Taken unawares at dead of night, the besiegers fled in confusion, leaving the stockade in the hands of the Portuguese, who forthwith demolished the fortifications. Upon this Vijaya Bāhu thought it best to pretend friendship and sent an envoy to Silveyra to congratulate him on his success and excuse himself for not coming to his aid when he was attacked by the Malabars. Silveyra had no order to break with the king and expressed himself satisfied.

In 1520 the new governor of India, Diogo Lopes de Siqueyra, sent Lopo de Brito as captain of Colombo

30. FORTRESS REBUILT

(1520–1522) with a number of workmen to build a stronger fort. While this was being done, the townspeople refused to supply provisions to the fort, and Brito attacked the town and burnt the Muslim quarter. While the soldiers were busy sacking and plundering, they were suddenly attacked and driven

back. The fort was scarcely finished, when it was again besieged, Vijaya Bāhu himself now openly declaring against the fort. Brito sent appeals to Cochin for help, but two of the messages fell into the hands of the king and betrayed how hard pressed the garrison was for provisions. Another messenger, however, managed to reach Cochin, and on the return of the Portuguese fleet from the Red Sea, 50 men and provisions were despatched to Colombo. With them Brito attacked the besiegers by land and sea and drove them from their entrenchments. They returned in larger numbers with twenty elephants of war and a force of Malabar cavalry, but were again repulsed, and the victorious garrison again burnt the township of Colombo.

These repeated failures to oust the foreigner told against Vijaya Bāhu. Before he became king, he had three sons. When he was raised to the throne, he married a princess of Kīrawella who brought with her a little boy whom Vijaya Bāhu adopted. In order to make this adopted son his heir, he plotted with two of his courtiers, Kandure Bandāra and Ēkanāyaka, against the life of his sons. They thereupon fled from court. The two elder sons went to Negombo, and the youngest, a bold and enterprising prince, went to the king of the hill-country whose queen was his cousin. That monarch espoused the cause of the princes and sent a force from the hill-country. With these troops the three princes marched on Kōṭṭe to vindicate their rights,

The people of Kōṭṭe also supported the princes, and Vijaya Bāhu was forced to sue for peace. The

31. VIJAYA BAHU KOLLAYA

princes demanded the surrender of the two courtiers. Kandure Bandāra was flogged to death, but Ēkanāyake escaped. Vijaya Bāhu now plotted to assassinate the princes; but the latter, coming to hear of

it, forced their way into the city, entered and plundered the palace, tore open the royal treasure chests and secured the king's silks and pearls and gems and silver and gold. As no man dared to kill the king, the princes hired a foreign assassin to do the deed. This event is known as *Vijaya Bāhu Kollaya*, the Spoiling of Vijaya Bāhu.

The king of the hill-country and the nobles of Kōṭṭe then held a convention and decided to place the eldest prince on the throne. But it was the youngest who had led the movement. He it was who planned, conducted, and carried out that grim deed, and it was therefore decided to give him a share also. The kingdom was accordingly divided into three smaller kingdoms. The eldest son received Kōṭṭe and the sea board to rule with the title of Emperor, and he took the name of Bhuvaneka Bāhu. The youngest was given Sītāwaka, the Four Kōralēs, and Denavaka, with the title of King of Sītāwaka, and he took the name of Mayādunnē Bandāra. The Madduma Bandāra was given the principality of Raigama with Passdum and Walawiti Kōralēs and was therefore known as Raigam Bandara. This happened in 1521.

CHAPTER III.

BHUVANEKA BAHU AND MAYADUNNA

1521—1545

1. **KING OF KOTTE**
 Bhuvaneka Bāhu 1521—1551
2. **KING OF SITAWAKA**
 Mayādunna 1521—1581
3. **KING OF KANDY**
 Wickrema Bāhu,
4. **KING OF JAFFNA**
 Chekarāsa Sekeran (Sankily) 1519—1561

I.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE PARTITION

The dismemberment of the kingdom of Kōṭṭe was not unopposed. Virasūriya, a nephew of Vijaya Bāhu, and Manampēri Ārachchi, the king's equerry, raised rebellions in Alut-kūru and Hāpitigam Kōralēs, but Mayādunna fell upon them, killed the two leaders, and punished the chiefs of the Kōralēs by depriving them of the lands they held. (7)

During these turmoils, Lopo de Brito improved the fort and enlarged the moat around it. It was triangular in shape and sufficiently strong to withstand Sinhalese batteries and the charge of elephants. When it was completed, Brito was succeeded by Fernão Gomez de Lemos, who, however, seeing how bitterly the Sinhalese resented the presence of a fortress, wrote to the king of Portugal that the fort was of very little use, and that unless the king was intent on conquest, which he represented as difficult, a factory would be quite enough to secure the annual tribute and to purchase cinnamon.

34. **FORT DISMANTLED**

The new viceroy of India also reported to the same effect, with the result that when the celebrated Vasco da Gama (1524) came as viceroy of India, he brought an order from the king to dismantle the fort and keep only a factory. This order was carried out in 1524. Nuno Freyre de Andrade was left in Colombo as factor with a force of 20 Portuguese.

II.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN BHUVANEKA BAHU AND MAYADUNNA

Bhuvaneka Bāhu greatly regretted the departure of the Portuguese troops, for his ambitious brother, Mayādunna of Sitāwaka, was not satisfied with that petty kingdom and was aiming at the throne of Kōṭṭe also, and the presence of an armed force would have been very useful to him. He therefore took the Portuguese under his protection. Mayādunna on the other hand, thinking that the Portuguese had abandoned the fort for fear of the Muslims, invited the latter to his realm and sent some of them on an embassy to Calicut to ask the Samorin's assistance to break entirely with the Portuguese.

The Samorin thereupon sent a force to Colombo to capture the factory. The leader of this expedition feared that an attack on the factory would offend Bhuvaneka Bāhu, and therefore went to Kōṭṭe and asked the king to deliver up the Portuguese. In order to induce the monarch to do so, he made up a story that the Portuguese were defeated on sea and that the rāja of Calicut and the other kings of India were besieging them on land. He, moreover, assured the king that the lives of the Portuguese would be spared. Bhuvaneka Bāhu was not disposed to surrender the men

35. AMBITION OF MAYADUNNA

36. AID FROM CALICUT

who had placed themselves under his protection. He replied that he would lay the matter before his council and if the report of the defeat of the Portuguese was found to be true, he would look for a means to grant the Samorin's request without violating his royal word. Meanwhile he summoned the factor. Freyre denied the story of the defeat of the Portuguese and requested the king and council to send an envoy to India to ascertain the truth. While this was being done, the Malabars beached their ships on the pretence of repairing them, and landed the men. The factor, suspecting their design, attacked them with a Sinhalese force under Salappu Arachchi and routed them completely. Another expedition was then sent, but the Sinhalese and the Portuguese again destroyed the Malabar fleet. Those who escaped death fled to Sitāwaka. Bhuvaneka Bāhu then expelled all Muslims from Colombo. Mayādunna took them also under his protection and incensed their minds against Bhuvaneka Bāhu and again sent ambassadors to Calicut to ask the Samorin's assistance and prepared to take the field against his brother.

The Samorin despatched another expedition under the command of three generals to aid Mayādunna. The

37. PORTUGUESE HELP

latter at once issued a proclamation calling upon all Sinhalese to follow his standard and threatening punishment to those who refused to do so. This led many to desert Bhuvaneka Bāhu who had no help but to turn to the Portuguese. Ambassadors were promptly sent to Goa, and in spite of domestic troubles, the Portuguese sent an expedition under Martim Affonso de Mello (1527).

Mayādunna, meanwhile, besieged Kōṭṭe, which was defended by a Sinhalese force of ten thousand men

38. KOTTE BESIEGED

assisted by the handful of Portuguese. They succeeded in keeping Mayādunna and the Malabars at bay till a merchantman brought the glad news that the

Portuguese fleet was on its way. On hearing this, Mayādunna retired to Sītāwaka, and when the fleet arrived in Colombo, the Malabars had already sailed away.

The Portuguese general and Freyre urged Bhuvaneka Bāhu to pursue Mayādunna, but the king was quite

39. MAYADUNNA'S PROMISES aware of the popularity of his brother and did not like to run the risk of losing his own by adopting

such a course, especially as Mayādunna offered to pay tribute and promised not to harass him again. The Portuguese fleet thereupon sailed away.

In 1536 the time seemed ripe for action, and Mayādunna again took the field. A Malabar force came to aid

40. RENEWAL OF SIEGE him, and as before he laid siege to Kōṭṭe, hoping to carry it before the Portuguese could come to its assistance.

The royal town of Kōṭṭe was well protected by nature. Situated in a lake teeming with crocodiles put in on purpose, it could not be approached except by four well known passes. The inner town was surrounded by a moat and battlements. These passes were all fortified under the direction of Freyre, and a hasty message was sent to Goa for help. Martim Affonso de Souza was promptly despatched with a fleet of eleven ships, whereupon Mayādunna raised the siege. Bhuvaneka Bāhu was profuse in his thanks, and Souza returned to Goa.

In 1537 the Samorin prepared a large fleet of 51 ships with 500 guns and 2000 men to help Mayādunna.

41. BATTLE OF VEDALAI The fleet set out, attacked all Portuguese vessels it met, captured two, and destroyed the Portuguese towns

on the way. Mayādunna immediately besieged Kōṭṭe, and the king had again to appeal to Goa. Martim Affonso de Souza set sail again, determined to destroy

the Malabars. Encountering the Samorin's fleet off Vedalai near Ramēswaram, he fought one of the most effective sea fights of the time and utterly routed the Malabars, rescuing Portuguese prisoners and winning great spoil (1538). On the news of this crushing defeat, Mayādunna submitted to Bhuvaneka Bāhu who again pardoned his brother with his customary good nature. Unable to persuade him to act against his brother, Souza returned to Goa, having accepted a loan of 45,000 cruzados.

Bhuvaneka Bāhu was now well advanced in years. By his principal queen, a princess of the Gampola dynasty, he had a daughter: by a junior queen two young sons. Being anxious for a successor who could stand up to Mayādunna, he gave his daughter in marriage to a kinsman named Vidiyē Bandāra, a young, bold, and resourceful man. Thereupon Mayādunna again besieged Kōṭṭe. He was now practically the chief Sinhalese sovereign and greatly dreaded. Many of the subjects of Bhuvaneka Bāhu had ranged themselves on his side.

With the forces of Sītāwaka and Raigama he now devastated the territories of Kōṭṭe and approached the metropolis, having persuaded the Samorin by rich presents to come again to his aid. A Malabar force accordingly landed at Puttlam and marched to Sītāwaka. Bhuvaneka Bāhu on the counsel of his minister, Tammita Bandāra, entrusted the defence of the frontier to Vidiyē Bandāra and of the harbours to the Portuguese and the troops of Kōṭṭe. Vidiyē proved himself a daring and capable general and succeeded in checking the advance of Mayādunna. The viceroy of India in his turn sent an expedition under Miguel Fer-

42. VIDIYE BANDARA

43. ADVANCE OF MAYADUNNA

reira (1539), who had been in Ceylon before and was well acquainted with its affairs.

Sailing along the coast of India, Ferreira heard that the Malabars were at Negombo. He then fell upon

44. EXPEDITION OF FERREIRA

their encampment, captured the ships and arms, slew many, and put the rest to flight. Coming to Colombo with the captured ships, he set fire to them within view of the whole city. He was welcomed by the two sons of Bhuvaneka Bāhu and conducted to Kōṭṭe, the Portuguese troops marching in full panoply with jerkin, breast-plate, and helmet. The grateful king received and entertained the troops and gave them two months' pay, four pardaos per month. Ferreira urged the king to pursue Mayādunna and settle with him for good, saying, as indeed was quite true, that he would again attack him and the Portuguese might not be able to come in time. The king was averse to this step, but as Ferreira urged the point, he consented at last, himself accompanying the expedition in order to make it serve against the Malabars rather than against Mayādunna.

The combined army crossed the Kelany, routing the Malabars who were guarding the bridge. At Gurube-

45. MARCH TO SITAWAKA

villa the march was opposed by a considerable force of men and elephants assisted by artillery. The position was carried, and Mayādunna thereupon sent ambassadors to his brother to sue for peace. The Portuguese general who was bent on destroying Mayādunna demanded his son and two prominent men as hostages as a preliminary to any proposal for peace.

This was done and Tikiri Bandāra, the future Rājasinha of Sitāwaka, then about eight years old, was sent

46. SURRENDER OF MALABARS

in charge of a noble Sinhalese lady. Then Ferreira demanded the instant delivery of the four Malabar generals and six other captains of note. Mayādunna sent

a Portuguese in his service to point out that it would be very base of him to surrender those who had come to his help. Ferreira was adamant, and Mayādunna had no help but to comply; within four days the heads of the Malabars were delivered to Ferreira. Upon this, peace was made, Mayādunna restoring all the lands and sea ports he had seized, and paying the cost of the war. Never after this did Mayādunna receive assistance from the Samorin.

At Kōṭṭe the king complained to Ferreira about the behaviour of Pero Vaz the factor who had succeeded Nuno Freyre de Andrade. Ferreira thereupon took counsel with a Franciscan friar and some other Portuguese and on their advice deposed the factor.

47. FACTOR OF KOTTE

III.

SUCCESSION TO KOTTE

Bhuvaneka Bāhu was now greatly concerned about the succession to the throne of Kōṭṭe. His daughter had borne two sons to Vidiyē Bandāra, the elder of whom, Dharmapāla, was a great favourite of the king, as the boy resembled his grandfather even in face and gait. To him, therefore, he wished to bequeath his throne, but knowing that Mayādunna would easily brush him aside, unless he were supported by the Portuguese, he wrote to John III of Portugal to ask his special protection. The king of Portugal inquired from his viceroy what the custom of the country was, and was told that according to the laws of inheritance prevailing in Malabar, it was the brother or sister's son who inherited in preference to sons and grandsons, though, of course, it was the most powerful and influential candidate that generally succeeded. The viceroy added that Mayādunna should be kept off the throne of Kōṭṭe, but that, if the grand-

48. DHARMA- PALA

son of Bhuvaneka Bāhu were to be upheld on the throne, the Portuguese would have to maintain troops at Kōṭṭe.

Bhuvaneka Bāhu, meanwhile, probably on the advice of the Portuguese in Kōṭṭe, resolved to send an

**49. EMBASSY TO
LISBON**

embassy to Lisbon. He chose as ambassador a certain Sri Rādaraksa Paṇḍita and Sallappu Ārachchi.

They took with them a gold statue of the boy and a crown, to ask the king to crown him in effigy. The embassy set out in 1542 and the king's grandson, Dharmapāla, was duly crowned with great solemnity at Lisbon in the presence of all the nobles of Portugal, on 12th March 1543, and the king issued letters patent appointing Dharmapāla heir to the throne of Kōṭṭe and calling upon all Portuguese officials to recognize him as such and protect and defend him from all enemies.

The ambassador had also been instructed to ask for Christian missionaries to preach the gospel in Ceylon,

**50. DECREES OF
KING OF
PORTUGAL**

and King John was also led to believe that Bhuvaneka Bāhu himself would become a Christian and set

the example to his subjects. This request pleased the king greatly and he directed a party of Franciscans to set out for Ceylon with the ambassador. Under the favourable impression created by this request, the ambassador succeeded in obtaining from the king a number of despatches checking the high-handed deeds of the Portuguese in Ceylon. No Portuguese was to buy anything from any native subject of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, except for cash paid on the spot. No Portuguese was to build ships or *sampans* in Ceylon without the express permission of the Portuguese authorities as well as of the king of Ceylon; nor possess any garden or land in Ceylon without the king's permission: when such permission is given, the Portuguese purchaser must pay all

dues and fulfil all customary services as if he were a native subject. All Portuguese ships must submit to inspection by the king's officers before quitting the harbours to see that no boy or girl or slave of the country was taken therein. All freemen becoming Christians must continue to pay all dues as before, and slaves becoming Christians should not thereby become freemen but might be sold to Christians. These decrees were intended to correct the abuses they imply. Two other personal decrees were also issued, one appointing Tammita Sūriya Bandāra and his heirs as chief chamberlains to the kings of Kōṭṭe, and another appointing Antonio Pereira, who accompanied the embassy, as royal interpreter for life.

Towards the end of 1543 the ambassadors returned to Ceylon with Friar John de Vila de Conde and four other Franciscan friars bearing letters from the king of Portugal and the Viceroy of India.

51. ARRIVAL OF FRANCISCANS

Bhuvaneka Bāhu was quite pleased with the result of the embassy and gave the friars a warm welcome: but they had come with the idea that Bhuvaneka Bāhu and his subjects wished to be instructed in Christianity. Great, therefore, was their disappointment when they found that such was far from being the case. Bhuvaneka Bāhu indeed showed no disinclination to maintain the friars and to let them preach, but he had no intention of letting his subjects become Christians, and least of all of becoming one himself. Such a course would certainly have made his subjects go over to Mayādunna. On the other hand, Bhuvaneka Bāhu was unwilling to give offence to the friars or to the king of Portugal, and tried to appease the former by offers of money, which they indignantly rejected.

The solemn appointment of Dharmapāla as crown-

prince of Kōṭṭe gave rise to great dissatisfaction.

52. QUARRELS

OVER

SUCCESSION

Mayādunna, who had hoped that the throne would be his on the death of his brother, was greatly incensed and took up arms. The two sons of Bhuvaneka Bāhu by the junior queen (42) had also aspired to the throne. Bhuvaneka Bāhu, therefore, despatched the Paṇḍita to Goa to seek immediate assistance against Mayādunna and if necessary to go again to Lisbon to press the matter.

To pacify his sons, he now asked Portuguese assistance to place them on the thrones of Jaffna and Kandy.

53. FLIGHT AND

BAPTISM OF

PRINCES

But the elder son, Jugo Bandāra, a young man of about seventeen years of age, began to interest the Portuguese on his own behalf. A certain Andre de Souza, who was at the court of Kōṭṭe, had been trying to make him a convert to Christianity. It now seemed to Jugo and his mother, that if he went to Goa and received baptism, he might be supported by the Portuguese. This reached the ears of Bhuvaneka Bāhu who caused him to be secretly murdered. Thereupon, his brother, who was also under instruction, fled the country with Souza. They were followed by a son of Bhuvaneka Bāhu's sister and some other noblemen, who placed themselves under instruction and were baptized at Goa. The eldest prince was named Don Luis, in honour of the Infanta of Portugal, and his cousin took the name of Don John. They were brought up at Goa in a manner befitting their rank, and Andre de Souza, their godfather, kept pestering the king and queen of Portugal to place them on the thrones of Kōṭṭe and Jaffna.

CHAPTER IV.

PORTUGUESE AID SOUGHT BY THE KINGS 1545—1550

1. **KING OF KOTTE**
Bhuvaneka Bāhu 1521 -1551
2. **KING OF KANDY**
Wickrema Bāhu
3. **KING OF SITAWAKA**
Mayādunna 1521—1581
4. **KING OF JAFFNA**
Chekarāsa Sekeran (Sankily) 1519—1561

I.

PORTUGUESE INTERVENTION

Rumours of the intention of the Portuguese to place the convert Sinhalese princes (53) on the thrones of Ceylon soon reached this island and caused a change in the attitude of the kings of Ceylon towards the Portuguese. As Bhuvaneka Bāhu was displeased with his allies, Mayādunna became friendly towards him, and Wickrema Bāhu of Kandy, who feared Mayādunna, sued for Portuguese aid against him.

Bhuvaneka Bāhu's chief grievance was the lawless behaviour of the Portuguese living in his realms, for it increased his unpopularity with the people. To add to this the king of Portugal, the friars, and the viceroy were urging him to become a Christian, a thing which he had no mind to do; and they now appeared to be disposed to go back on their solemn promise to uphold him and his heir.

Meanwhile it was only the administration of the country that was to be taken over by the king's government. All trade, commercial interests, and the collection of revenue were still to remain under the Company's civil service on the Madras establishment for the benefit of the Company. The administration of justice, police, all civil, military, and judicial authority was to be vested in the governor, who was to depend on the secretary of state, but to correspond with the board of directors of the East India Company and be subject to their orders. North arrived in Bombay in July, but owing to the change of plan did not receive his commission till September. Meanwhile the committee continued its investigations and issued its report.

The reason for the change of administration was probably the report of the unsatisfactory state of the island's administration by the Com-

**51. REASONS
FOR CHANGE**

pany. There was, moreover, a great deal of discussion in Europe regarding the ultimate disposal of Ceylon. The British were anxious to retain the island or at least Trincomalie. The Dutch on the other hand were pressing for the restoration of their settlements without exception. The Committee of Investigation contemplated the possibility of having to relinquish the settlements and considered it a "measure of policy to leave a favourable impression on the minds of the inhabitants that we may profit by it, should an attempt to regain the possession be made hereafter."

V.

KANDYAN AFFAIRS

The inevitable struggle between the Nayakkār and Sinhalese factions was now drawing nigh. The Sinhalese chiefs formed a considerable

**52. PILIMA
TALAUWE**

party, headed by Pilima Talauwe, the first adigār. He was second to the king in name

but not in power ; in craft and ambition he was second to none. He was disāwa of more than one province ; his brother had been first adigār before him ; his nephew was second adigār now, and the disāwas of Ūva and Mātale were his kinsmen. As first adigār he assumed pomp and magnificence and amassed wealth. Thus by birth, position, power, and ambition he seemed to himself the best fitted to revive the sovereignty of the Sinhalese. The Nayakkārs had also become powerful and numerous and had the support of the conservative disāwas who were jealous of Pilima Talauwe's power, and who had now come to acquiesce in the fundamental law, as one of them called it, that the king must be a foreigner from Madura.

In 1789 the adigār profited by the disturbances in the low-country and deposed Rājādi. He was, however, unable to seize the throne, as his ambitious plans were opposed by some of his brother chiefs.

53. DEPOSITION OF RAJADI

According to ancient custom, it was the adigār's duty to choose and acclaim a new king, but he abstained from such a course and carried on the government of the country without a king.

Rājādi, however, nominated Muttusāmy, his queen's brother, not as successor but as inter-rex, till his queens should choose a son of one of their brothers. The adigār prevented Muttusāmy's assumption of power and the queens from choosing an heir, awaiting an opportunity to mount the throne himself.

54. INTER- REGNUM

CHAPTER IV.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES UNDER THE CROWN AND THE COMPANY

1798—1801

KING OF KANDY:

Sri Wickrama Rājasinha

1798—1815

I.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

The Honourable Frederic North, afterwards Earl of Guilford, arrived in Ceylon in October, 1798, as the king's governor of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, displacing Brigadier-General Pierre Frederic de Meuron who had been military governor under the Company. Along with North came Hugh Cleghorn, who, as we have seen, (26) negotiated the transfer of the regiment de Meuron. He was present at the capture of Colombo, made a tour of the English possessions in the island, returned to report matters to the secretary of state, and was rewarded with a gift of £5,000 and the post of secretary to the government. Besides Cleghorn, there accompanied North a number of young Englishmen nominated by the crown to assist the new government.

The king's commission under the great seal, dated 26th March, 1798, stated that the sovereignty and government of the settlements in Ceylon were vested in the Crown, and that till further provision was made, North was to be the king's representative in the island, but was to act under the direction of the East

56. HIS COMMISSION

India Company, especially in matters of trade and commerce. As king's representative, he was to have all civil and military power, the ecclesiastical power commonly called the office of the Ordinary, and judicial power. He also received instructions from the board of directors and from the secret committee of the Company, directing him to employ the Company's civil servants in the collection of revenue, and to conciliate the affections of the king of Kandy and of the natives, to induce them to trade with the English settlements. In all future proceedings with the court of Kandy, he was to be guided by the governor-general in council, and all negotiations were to be carried on and concluded in the name of the Company.

The principal recommendations of the Committee of Investigation (47) were: 1. the restoration of service
57. RECOMMEND- tenure, 2. the abolition of the coco-
ATIONS OF THE nut tax, 3. the banishment of the
COMMITTEE coast natives, 4. re-establishment
of mudaliyars, and 5. a mild and upright administration. These were the findings of de Meuron and Agnew. The former actually carried out the greater part of the reforms. The Dutch courts continued for twelve months after the capitulation in order to dispose of the pending cases, but on the completion of that period, the judges refused to continue, and de Meuron established courts of equity. Robert Andrews on the other hand was recalcitrant and did all in his power to wreck the work of the committee. The committee also recommended the development of the cinnamon gardens, a monopoly of salt, a capitation tax on Muslims in place of *ūliyam*, import and export duties on arecanut, tobacco, cloth, and arrack. Regarding the treaty with Kandy (45) the committee was of opinion that it was fortunate that the blindness and

obstinacy of the king in refusing to ratify the treaty had relieved the English from all obligations towards him. No future endeavours need be wasted to obtain the king's confirmation of a treaty so impolitic. The ability with which the committee had carried out its duties enabled the new government to begin work in peace and tranquillity. The only obstacle were the civil servants of the Madras establishment who still remained, to be a thorn in the side of the new governor.

Governor North found the country enjoying perfect tranquillity after the recent disturbances, and that the recommendations of the committee had been carried out. He therefore set about reorganizing the machinery of government, practically all the reforms, civil, military, judicial, political, commercial, financial, economic, and medical, being of his own creation. Andrews was still functioning as superintendent of revenue and fixed ambassador to Kandy. North suppressed both offices, and appointed independent collectors at Colombo, Galle, Batticaloa, Trincomalie, and Jaffna, who were to correspond with the government through the chief secretary. The government of Madras as well as the Madras civilians, were not satisfied with North's administrative reforms; but he found such gross irregularities and abuses in the conduct of the Madras civilians that he was forced to dismiss a number of them. Cleghorn, too, was unable to agree with North and left the island. The governor soon suppressed the office of collector, and its duties were delegated to 'Agents of Revenue and Commerce', stationed at different places, but together forming a board of revenue and commerce with the chief secretary as president. This reform is still commemorated in the name of "Government Agent" which we give in

58. THE CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT

this island to the administrative heads of the provinces, that in India are still called collectors.

North retained the commercial resident, a post which corresponded to the 'captain of the cinnamon department' of the Dutch. He placed the cinnamon gardens of Colombo under the care of Joseph Joinville, a learned naturalist, who was at the same time the superintendent of the government botanical gardens at Ortafula or Malwatta. A medical department, a postal department, a survey department, audit department, and education department were also instituted. The governor employed a French secretary and a Dutch secretary who was in charge of the Dutch archives. With the restitution of the headman-system there was revived the post of maha mudaliyar or the governor's interpreter, about whom North wrote, "The maha mudaliyar is always resident near the person of the governor, never sits down in my presence, nor appears before me in shoes, but is in fact the grand vizier. Every order I give him is instantly executed, and everything taking place in the island is communicated to me. Their great object is to gain marks of distinction such as sabres, gold chains, medals, etc., by which the Dutch governors well knew how to secure their attachment."

The proper administration of justice was a pressing necessity, as the provisional courts of equity
59. THE JUDICIAL ESTABLISHMENT appointed by de Meuron were the only courts in existence. North therefore prevailed upon a young barrister, Codrington Edmund Carrington, who happened to arrive in Colombo, to draft a plan of judicature founded on the general principles of justice and sound jurisprudence, but adapted to the laws and institutions which subsisted in the 'country under the

Dutch. This draft was submitted to the governor-general and on his approval proclaimed on 23rd September, 1799.

By the king's commission North, was made president of a supreme court of judicature, consisting of the governor, the commander-in-chief and the chief secretary. This court was to hold circuit every six months and hear appeals from minor courts. The criminal functions of the three chief Dutch courts of Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle, were consolidated into one tribunal ; but as the Dutch judges refused to continue their work, the governor was obliged to delay the establishment of the courts of Jaffna and Galle, and prevailed upon the court of equity to continue as a chief civil court. Police courts were set up in Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle, and county courts or landraads were re-opened at Colombo, Jaffna, Galle, Mātara, Batticaloa, Trincomalie, Mulaitivu, Mannār, Kalpiṭiya, Chilaw, Negombo, and Kalutara. These county courts consisted of a president, a tombo holder and mudaliyars as assessors.

The governor as the representative of the supreme head of the Church of England exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as the king's ministers directed him not to delegate that jurisdiction to another.

**60. ECCLESIAS-
TICAL**

II.

AFFAIRS OF KANDY

We have seen that Rājādi Rājasinha was deposed in 1798 by a faction headed by Pilima Talauwe. As

61. SRI long as the deposed king was alive,
WICKRAMA Pilima Talauwe did not assume
RAJASINHA royal power nor place on the
throne the inter-rex nominated by Rājādi. (54) In consequence of this deadlock, the court became a prey to

discord and commotion, and the adigār's plan of mounting the throne was violently opposed by the king's relatives and the conservative chiefs. The



Sri Wickrama Rajasinha

adigār therefore decided to seek the help of the English and attempted to make friends with them. Meanwhil

on the death of Rājādi on 26th July, 1798, he determined to get rid of his enemies by placing on the throne one of the relatives of the king as a puppet to be moved by him and to be put aside when his plans were mature. The person chosen was a very young man, named Kannasāmy, the son of a sister of Rājādi's queens. He was a contemptible person "weak in intellect" as the adigār described him. This man was accordingly acclaimed as Srī Wickrama Rājasinha. The adigār made him exile all the Nayakkārs and execute all the opponents of the adigār. The court again became the scene of violence and bloodshed.

Rājādi had married four queens, two pairs of sisters. The first pair had seven brothers, Muttusāmy,

62. PRETENDERS Buddhasāmy, Kunnesāmy, Chin-nasāmy, Appusāmy, Ayasāmy and Rangasāmy. The second pair had

one brother named Kandesāmy. Any one of these could have been chosen king according to the laws of succession introduced by the Nayakkārs. Muttusāmy had the advantage of being nominated inter-rex by the king, but he was a man who had been publicly punished for misdemeanour and was not acceptable. The Nayakkār party appealed to North to intervene on behalf of Muttusāmy, but he refused. Thereupon Muttusāmy escaped to Jaffna, intending to proceed to India to seek assistance from the French; but he was detained at Jaffna and maintained at the expense of North's government. Two other candidates to the throne, Buddhasāmy and Kandasāmy, came to Colombo and were likewise detained and accommodated. A fourth sought refuge with the English at Tuticorin. A petition on behalf of the Nayakkārs was presented to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, asking his intervention, but the English government was not disposed to intervene, and North awaited developments.

The adigār was suspicious of the intentions of the English and having ascertained to his relief that the

63. PILIMA

**TALAUWE'S
INTRIGUES**

English did not intend to support any of the pretenders, decided to seek such support for himself. He informed North that he wished to discuss a matter of great importance to his government and asked for an interview at Sitāwaka. There was an outbreak of small-pox in Colombo which deterred the adigār from coming to Colombo, and a scarcity of rice which deterred the governor from receiving the adigār with his suite of 500 "who would eat up all my rice" as North observed. Accordingly the interview took place at Sitāwaka, and the adigār invited the English to come and take possession of the Kandyan kingdom and uphold him on the throne in return for liberal trade concessions. North indignantly refused the offer and broke off dealings, but in the course of subsequent interviews with North's secretary, the adigār found that the English were ready to undertake the protection of the kingdom and uphold the adigār in his power, if the king's life and dignity were preserved inviolate and the English given the effective control of the trade and military administration, while the civil and judicial administration remained according to the established constitution of the kingdom.

The puppet king was chafing under the restraint and was endeavouring to break free from the dictator.

**64. BRITISH
PLANS**

He had pawned the Dutch gifts of former days for ready money to help his relatives; he declined to marry the adigār's daughters and made the daughters of the adigār's principal enemy his queens. In short he was listening to the counsels of the adigār's enemies. The adigār therefore was anxious to take a British force to Kandy on any terms and agreed with

the English to make his country an English protectorate and to preserve to the king his title and state, while he himself was acknowledged and upheld as the chief civil and judicial authority. He proposed therefore to convoke a meeting of the chiefs at Sitāwaka to arrange the terms of the bargain. The governor again refused to make a bargain with any one save the king.



Gen. Macdowall and Pilima Talauwe

If the adigār was ready to obtain the consent of the king to the arrangement, the English were willing to act. Thereupon the adigār undertook to do so and after many complicated negotiations it was resolved that General Hay Macdowall should proceed on an embassy to the king, ostensibly to congratulate him on his accession, but in reality to obtain his consent to this arrangement.

Macdowall was to be escorted by a large English force which was to remain in Kandy after the treaty

**65. MACDOWALL'S
EMBASSY**

to protect the king's life against the adigār's machinations, and to uphold the adigār in his power. It became pretty clear to the governor that the adigār intended to use the English force to overawe the king and the adigār's opponents, and North hesitated for a time but finally consented to despatch the force in the belief that the king's life was in danger and that the adigār's power was great enough to persuade Śrī Wickrama to resign to the adigār the power which the adigār himself had granted, for the king's only claim to the throne was that he was placed there by the adigār.

But when the embassy advanced, there was great consternation in the kingdom. The king prepared to flee the capital; the people fled

66. ITS FAILURE out of the way of the advancing force, and one of the adigār's chief adversaries, the Disāwa Leukē, ranged himself on the king's side and mustered troops to oppose the march of the English. The governor's suspicions of the adigār were confirmed, and Pilima Talauwe's game was up. But he did not give himself away. He persuaded the ambassador to leave the artillery and the greater part of his escort at Ruanwella and proceed to Kandy with a small escort, undertaking to see that the king remained in Kandy and received the embassy. At Gannōruwa, Macdowall was met by the courtiers who discussed the treaty and declined the protection of the English. Upon this the adigār tried to bring about a rupture between the English and the court, but failed in that also. But the ambassador was so keen on making Kandy an English protectorate

that he offered to seize the adigār and his adherents. It was of no avail, and the embassy returned after the customary audience of the king and the exchange of presents.

The real state of the kingdom was deplorable. Even the king's foremost supporters were ready to support an English invasion, but what they did not want was the ascendancy of the adigār. What the

67. STATE OF KANDY

Sinhalese chiefs desired was to be rid of the Nayakkār domination, not the increase of the adigār's power. That power was, however, so great that neither the king nor the English nor the chiefs dared to break with him.

After the failure of the embassy, which cost £5,000, the king learnt that the governor was well disposed towards him and tried to open communications through the maha nāyaka of Kandy. Leukē

68. APPEALS TO THE BRITISH

Disāwa and the adigār also made repeated overtures to the governor, so that North was able to report that there was scarcely a person of consequence in Kandy who did not make advances to him. When Colonel Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, arrived at Trincomalie, a large force was being collected there, and the adigār became uneasy and sent hasty messages to Colombo to inquire about the intentions of the English. He had now come to the conclusion that the only way to carry out his cherished object was to make the king commit acts of aggression against the English who would then listen to proposals for his deposition.

III.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

In April, 1800, North introduced a tax called the joy-tax to increase the revenues. The word 'joy' is a corruption of a Portuguese word meaning jewel,

trinket, or ornament, and it was so called because the tax was levied on the luxury of wearing ornaments of gold, silver, or other metal, stone, pearl, ivory, glass, conch, chank, or bone. Every male person, young or old, was required to take a licence for wearing joys by paying a rix-dollar per annum; and every female half a rix-dollar. This tax like the coconut-tax caused unexpected opposition. Disturbances occurred in various parts of the island and detachments of troops had to be sent to disperse the rioters, which led to some skirmishes in which two were killed. The ringleaders fled to Kandyan territory and others surrendered. Afterwards it came to light that Pilima Talauwe had a hand in the riots, and the governor was assured on oath that the adigār made an attempt to cause a revolt in Colombo.

North built great hopes on the pearl fishery of 1799 and appointed Cleghorn and Macdowall as commissioners, but it led to a great deal of trouble. There was scarcity of rice in the settlements at the time, and a Madras civilian who was in charge of the fishery was involved in the disappearance of 2,752 bags of rice, and the civilian's dubash was accused of pilfering half a lakh of pagodas. Under the circumstances the fishery yielded only £38,000.

An outbreak of small-pox caused great alarm in Colombo. This scourge often visited the island and claimed many victims in the settlements and in the Kandyan kingdom where on this occasion it did not spare the royal family. North immediately started a medical campaign of inoculation. Hospitals were opened in Colombo, Galle, Jaffna, and Trincomalie.

69. THE JOY-TAX

70. THE PEARL FISHERY

71. SMALL-POX

In September, 1801, news was received in Colombo that the home government had finally decided to separate the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon from the Madras government and the governor-general, so as to make Ceylon an independent crown colony from 1st January, 1802.

**72. CROWN
COLONY**



CHAPTER V.
**THE MARITIME PROVINCES AS A
CROWN COLONY**

1802—1805

KING OF KANDY:

Srī Wickrama Rājasinha

1798—1815.

I.

CONSTITUTION AND POLICY

The ultimate disposal of the settlements in Ceylon was a subject of much discussion in the negotiations preceding the peace of Amiens (1802). The shareholders of the Dutch East-India Company protested against ceding Ceylon to the English; but as India was the great object of French ambition, the British government was not prepared to part with Trincomalie "the finest and the most advantageous bay in the whole of India in which a whole fleet may safely ride and remain in tranquillity, a bay which is of such importance to the English that it assures their sovereignty over the west of India and places them in a position to defend their possessions against all European powers." Accordingly the English pressed for Ceylon and obtained it at the peace and decided to transfer the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon completely from the East India Company and place them under the control of the Crown. This measure was carried out on the 1st of January, 1802, and the island has continued to this day with a government independent of the neighbouring continent.

As the governor was no longer under the governor-general of India, the king appointed a council, consisting of the commander-in-chief, who was ex-officio lieutenant governor, the chief justice and the chief secretary to government and two others. A Ceylon civil service was organized, and those of the Madras service were encouraged to return to the Presidency. The civil service thus started is the oldest king's civil service in the East, and its members have distinguished themselves in various ways, especially in the study of the history and antiquities of the island. The first editor and translator of the Mahāvansa, the first to compile a Pali-English dictionary were members of the Ceylon civil service. These civil servants were appointed as agents of revenue and judges of the provincial courts.

A charter of justice was issued by the king, establishing a new system of judicature in Ceylon. Codrington Edmund Carrington, who had drafted the provisional judicature of 1799, returned to Ceylon as chief justice after a visit to England to consult the secretary of state regarding the judicial establishment. Another English barrister, Edmund Henry Lushington, was appointed puisne justice, and the supreme court of judicature was formally opened on 8th February, 1802, with James Sunderland as registrar. This court was to relieve the governor of his judicial duties and was authorized to enrol advocates and proctors.

A court of civil judicature was established for the fort and town of Colombo, and its jurisdiction was afterwards extended to the district of Colombo. Provincial courts were established in the other towns

to administer justice according to the customs and usages of the people. The landraads were abolished, one after another, and their jurisdiction transferred to the civil courts. A justice of the peace sat regularly in the principal towns for the trial of petty police cases and was styled the Sitting Magistrate. The governor, the chief justice, and the puisne justice formed a high court of appeal from all the decisions of all tribunals in the island.

In May, 1802, North reverted to the policy of the Madras civilians and did away with the service-tenure which had been re-established by the Committee of Investigation.

76. THE LAND POLICY

This hasty measure was due to the abuses of the headman-system which the governor found it impossible to remedy. In fact the power of the mudaliyars was so great after the restoration of the headman system, that the Madras civilians used to complain that North himself was under the influence of his maha mudaliyar. But the governor believed that the discontinuance of the system would lead to greater development of commerce and agriculture as well as to an increase of revenue, for in place of the service which the holders of land had to perform, he now levied a tax of one-tenth of the produce from highlands and one-fifth from the lowlands. But the abolition of service greatly crippled the cinnamon trade, and the governor was hard put to it to collect the 400,000 lbs. of cinnamon required annually. This led North's successor to re-introduce the service-tenure. North also did away with the system of paying headmen by grants of land or accomodessants, as they were called, and introduced money payments.

Though the English East India Company relinquished its conquests to the crown, it was allowed to retain the exclusive privilege of exporting cinnamon from Ceylon.

77. CINNAMON MONOPOLY

The Ceylon government undertook to deliver to the Company annually 400,000 lbs. of cinnamon for which the Company would pay the government the sum of £60,000. The Company was further to give the government all clear profit beyond five per cent. made on the commodity. The condition of the bargain was that no cinnamon was to be sold or exported from Ceylon except to the Company, save what the agent of the Company rejected, which could be sold for consumption in India or any place eastward of the Cape of Good Hope at a price not below one and three-quarter rix-dollars per pound. In 1806 the Company complained that owing to the indifference of the market it could not clear the prime cost and charges and asked for an additional 50,000 lbs. for the sum they were paying to the revenue of the colony. This continued till 1810 when the parties reverted to the former terms. But in 1813 it was found that the Company was making large profits, and the government demanded the surplus beyond five per cent. The Company thereupon agreed to pay £200,000 in compensation, and £101,000 annually. This contract lasted for seven years till, in 1833, the monopoly was removed for good.

II. .

THE KANDYAN WAR

The administration of Frederic North was marred by a dubious policy towards the king of Kandy. The possession of the uninterrupted belt which follows the whole circumference of the island, hemmed in the entire kingdom of Kandy and placed it virtually

78. POLICY TOWARDS KANDY

under the control of the English with regard to all supplies from abroad and even with regard to salt, an essential article of consumption. The possession of the cinnamon gardens of Maradana and Kadirane made the English completely independent of the king, and the command of the sea and harbours made them masters of the pearl banks and of all other riches of Ceylon. Thus the independent sovereignty of the king of Kandy seemed little better than a name. And if the English could only obtain the military control of that kingdom, they could leave the king his name and dignity and the civil and judicial administration of his subjects, but it would enable the government of the Maritime Provinces to do away with the inland frontiers and the expense of maintaining a line of defence in the interior. The government would have the external line of the coast to defend and nothing more.

This was exactly what the adigār offered to give as the reward for assisting him; and though the iniquity of the minister's proposal to do away with the king prevented the governor from accepting his offer, he was only too ready to adopt any just measures that would lead to that consummation. North therefore made many efforts to come to an understanding with the king of Kandy, but without success. In February, 1802, the second adigār Mīgastennē, disāwa of the Three Kōralēs and son-in-law of Pilima Talauwe, came on an embassy to North, ostensibly to ask for the restitution of some islands on the coast and the right to despatch ten ships, as offered by the English in 1796. The real object of the embassy was, however, to renew the adigār's request for assistance to depose the king. North very curtly declined to listen to him and even

**79. INTRIGUES
OF PILIMA
TALAUWE**

refused his request to send an English embassy, and dismissed Migastēnnē without even the customary presents. Having thus failed to enlist the English on his side, the adigār now boldly decided to provoke the English to hostilities against the king, as North's chief reason for declining to act against the king, was that the king had given the English no provocation.

Disquieting rumours soon reached Colombo that the king was making warlike preparations, mustering troops, and digging covered pits along the paths. In April, North received intelligence that two parties of Muslims, British subjects of Puttlam, who were bringing a quantity of arecanut, exchanged in the Kandyan kingdom for salt, salt-fish, cloth, and tobacco, were stopped and molested and their areca confiscated by the orders of Pallegampahē Adigār, as the prime minister was called. North at once despatched his secretary to Puttlam to verify the story, and ascertained that the adigār had sold the confiscated areca to merchants from Colombo. He therefore sent a remonstrance to the king, complaining of the action. After some delay the court replied, acknowledging the acts and asking the governor to direct the merchants to come to the kingdom to receive the confiscated property. The merchants went, but after a delay of 35 days were ordered to come two months later. Two months later North sent a headman to take delivery of the areca. He too was sent back empty handed with a request to come later. North, thereupon, insisted on the immediate delivery of the areca or its value. This was refused, and North determined to march to Kandy to demand indemnification and security against a repetition.

80. CAUSE OF KANDYAN WAR

The expedition set out in two divisions. General Hay Macdowall with 2,000 men of the 51st and 19th regiments and 100 Malays and

**81. EXPEDITION
TO KANDY**

Bengal and Madras artillery set out from Colombo on 31st January with Aspanti Nilame, a Kandyan refugee. Marching by Dambadeniya, Galagedera, and Giriagama, this division reached the Mahaveliganga on 19th February. There it was met by the second division which had set out from Trincomalie on 2nd February under the command of Barbut who also led about 2,000 men and artillery via Badulla. On the 20th February the two divisions entered the city of Kandy. The king, the adigār, and the inhabitants fled, setting fire to the palace and the temples. The troops, however, succeeded in extinguishing the flames. They occupied and garrisoned the city and erected two forts, one at Dambadeniya to keep up communications with Colombo and another at Goniavila, called Fort Macdowall (near Mātale), on the way to Trincomalie.

Meanwhile Disāwa Leukē attacked the frontiers, but was repelled, and Macdowall made many attempts

**82. MUTTUSAMY
ACCLAIMED KING**

to communicate with the king, but without success. The governor, thereupon, thought of enthroning one of the pretenders to whom he had given shelter. Muttusāmy and Kandasāmy were escorted to Kandy. The adigār, hearing of this move, attempted to seize the pretenders, but was frustrated by the vigilance of the English. Muttusāmy was hailed king of Kandy, and a treaty between the new monarch and the British was drawn up, and a convention was entered into between Prince Muttusāmy and the English. The former "as the undoubted heir to the last king of Kandy" was to receive "the town of Kandy and

all the possessions dependent on the crown of Kandy now occupied by the English" and he in his turn granted to the English the province of the Seven Kōralēs and the two hill forts of Giriagama and Galagedera, and a line of land for a direct road from Colombo to Trincomalie. He was also to protect the monopoly of cinnamon and to admit a British resident in Kandy. 'The prince lately on the throne' was to receive a pension. This treaty was to take effect as soon as Muttusāmy should have girded on the sword of state.

In spite of every attempt to induce the chiefs and people to support Muttusāmy, no one came forward.

83. PILIMA TALAU'WE'S PROPOSAL The adigār, finding that the prize he had demanded was being offered to another, now pretended friendship with the English and offered to help them to capture the king. But the detachments sent to Hanguranketa according to his directions met with serious opposition, and the king was not at Hanguranketa. The adigār pressed the troops to pursue him, but Colonel Baillie, who was suspicious of the good faith of the adigār, returned to Kandy instead. Thereupon the adigār cut off communications between Kandy and Trincomalie, and attacks were delivered on the British settlements. A message was sent to North that the English would gain their object more easily if the king were deposed and the adigār established. North was weak enough to consent to this, if the adigār would guarantee the life and dignity of the king, give the Vanni to Muttusāmy and the Seven Kōralēs to the English. The adigār had no hesitation in consenting to these terms.

"A convention having been entered into between the British Government of Ceylon and His Majesty Muttusāmy, the illustrious Lord
84. CONVENTION Pilima Talauwe, first adigār of the court of Kandy, the second adigār, and the other nobles of the court become

parties thereto " on condition "that Muttusāmy deliver over the administration of the country to Pilima Talauwe with the title of Utum Kumāraya during the term of his natural life ; that Muttusāmy reside and hold his court at Jaffnapatam and receive the sum of 30,000 rix-dollars per annum ; which pension the English will pay if they receive 20,000 amunams of areca at six rix-dollars per amunam and Fort Macdowall in exchange for Giriagama. All the princes and princesses of the royal family to be free to settle wherever they choose ; and a general amnesty given on both sides to all. This convention to come into force as soon as the prince lately on the throne is delivered to the British."

Meanwhile jungle fever began playing havoc with the garrison. Macdowall fell ill and returned to

**85. DISTRESS
OF THE
GARRISON**

Colombo with the sick of the garrison. The adigār asked for a personal interview with North at Dambadeniya in the new British province of the Seven Kōralēs. The adigār, it is said, intended to seize the governor and was only prevented by the unexpected appearance of Col. Barbut. The interview took place. The convention was signed by North and the adigār and was given to Barbut to be taken to Kandy for the signature of Muttusāmy. But Barbut also fell a victim to jungle fever and had to return to Colombo. Thereupon Macdowall who was convalescing returned to Kandy, where he again fell ill and returned to Colombo with his son, leaving the garrison in charge of Major Davie.

Leukē Disāwa then sent a message to North expressing his surprise that the governor should still trust a "perfidious villain" as the first adigār "who had deceived the whole world." The adigār called upon Davie to send 600 men to pursue the

86. SURRENDER

king, but the major declined. The adigār thereupon tried to corrupt the Malays and cut off communications. The garrison then found itself in a precarious situation. Provisions were short, the men ill with a Sinhalese army around them. The adigār still pretended friendship and sent a message to Davie that the king intended to attack him on the 23rd June. On the 24th a large force actually attacked the garrison and after ten hours' fighting Davie was advised to capitulate. The adigār dictated the terms: The garrison to quit with their arms and proceed to Trincomalie with Muttusāmy; all the stores, ammunition, and artillery to be delivered to the adigār, who would look after the sick and send them to Colombo.

The garrison marched out and was subjected to injuries of every description. The river was flooded and they were obliged to spend

87. MASSACRE the night by the river side. In the morning a messenger from the king demanded the surrender of Muttusāmy. Davie refused, but the king threatened to destroy them all unless he was given up. The unfortunate man was thereupon surrendered with his brother Kandasāmy, and both were immediately put to death. One of the sick men of the garrison then arrived, bringing the news that all the sick had been tied two by two and killed. Davie was separated from the rest, the English soldiers from the Malays, and all were ordered to lay down their arms. The latter were invited to serve the king; those who refused were instantly beheaded, the others led away. The soldiers were led back to Kandy, but were taken two by two into a dell where they were butchered by a Kaffir. One, Corporal Barnsley, who was left for dead, crawled out in the darkness and made his way to Fort Macdowall which

was under siege. He communicated the news to Capt. Madge, who spiked the guns and escaped with the able-bodied men, leaving the sick to their fate. Dambadeniya was attacked by the second adigār, but held out till a relieving force enabled the garrison to retreat. Thus within a few days all the British troops in the Kandyan territory were driven out save Davie and Captains Humphrey and Rumley and a Dutch surgeon. The last escaped after some time, the two captains died and Davie alone survived to drag out his days in a miserable confinement, while his superiors, Macdowall and North, made a scape-goat of him to hide their own mistakes, and sent to England an account of the affair which was justly described in the House of Commons as 'cruel and unfeeling'. The expedition cost 592 lives, including 300 who died after the return to Colombo.

The Kandyan troops now poured down on the low-country in the expectation of driving the English
88. ATTACK ON out of the island. Many of the
BRITISH inhabitants of the low-country
TERRITORY joined the invaders, and martial law was declared. Colombo, Negombo, Chilaw, Mannār, Jaffna, Mulaitivu, Trincomalie, Batticaloa, Hambantota, Mātara, and Galle were all attacked simultaneously. But the arrival of troops from Bengal and the Cape enabled these stations, all of which held out pluckily and successfully, to be relieved. The king came in person to lead the attack on Colombo with six pounder guns, and beset the fort of Hanwella for three days, but was repulsed so effectively that he fled in disorder, and when overtaken by Leukē Disāwa, the unfeeling monarch ordered 'that faithful chief to be beheaded on the spot. The British captured all the arms and standards and recovered the Malays

who had been forced by the king to fight against their comrades. The retreating force was pursued into the Kandyan country, and Ruanwella was burned to the ground. In this and the subsequent operations the troops could scarce be restrained from giving vent to their rage; but the officers managed to turn their ire on property rather than on life.



Arthur Johnston

On the arrival of more troops from Bengal and Madras, the governor planned to capture Kandy once more and retrieve the lost reputation. It was planned to march

89. SECOND EXPEDITION

on Kandy simultaneously from Colombo, Negombo, Chilaw, Puttlam, Hambantota, Batticaloa, and Trincomalie; but Major General David Douglas Wemyss and North had a difference of opinion,

and the expedition was countermanded. However Captain Johnston who was to command the division from Batticaloa did not receive clear notice of the abandonment and marched his little force to Kandy. The king and people fled before it and Johnston, seeing no signs of the other columns, carried out the retreat most gallantly, being the only one save Azevedo to accomplish such a feat.

This devastating war had sad effects on both sides. North's government was greatly disturbed by a campaign which cost much blood, money, and reputation. Public works were disorganized and the military establishment increased. The king of Kandy likewise lost credit with his subjects as well as with the British, who attempted to obtain his submission by withholding salt. It is not known whether the responsibility for the massacre should be laid on the king or on the adigār. The king and Davie attributed it to the adigār, who in turn put it on the king. Circumstances, however, seem to show that both were responsible. The king who both feared and hated the adigār was apparently displeased that the adigār should have let the English garrison escape so easily and gave the order which the minister carried out so as to let the blame fall on the king. Pilima Talauwe was now out of favour with both North and the king and lay low. The governor was anxious to put an end to an episode so disastrous to his credit, and when the blockade failed to reduce the king, he suggested to the monarch to express regret for the massacre, which he indignantly refused to do, and a sullen truce ensued.

The Kandyan war caused great displeasure in England, and questions were asked in Parliament. Mr. Creevy, M.P. in moving for the letters and papers

received from North relative to the cause of the hostilities with the king of Kandy, severely criticized the governor. The 'casus belli'

**91. DISCUSSION
IN PARLIAMENT**

he said was 'whether the sum of £ 300 should be paid immediately or at the expiration of a few months. It was in this transaction that our national honour was supposed to be involved. For this our government left its lawful occupations and put all the troops in Ceylon in motion to chastise the king of Candy, to invade his dominions and seize his capital.' When the government agreed to table the papers, Creevy moved for copies of all the despatches and letters from the governor to the British officers and from the officers to him. The government objected to this on the ground of inexpediency, and a discussion took place, and a division was taken, the motion being defeated by a majority of 23. But the House expressed its opinion on the subject. Speaking of the proposed second expedition to Kandy, one of the members said ; " India is allowed to be the great object of French ambition ; we act upon this supposition in all our political calculations. It is with reference to this that Ceylon derives its greatest importance : it is with reference to India that Trincomalie is beyond all value. Yet, Sir, with a war carrying on in India on an enormous scale, with a French squadron in the East Indian seas full of troops, so often said to be captured, but still unaccounted for, with French ports full of vessels and troops ready for expeditions, with a necessity at home for our regular army, more urgent than was ever known, and with that regular army more than ever neglected, we are placed in the distressing dilemma that we must, either by withholding assistance from the government of Ceylon endanger our possession of that most important colony, or we must, in this hour of need and necessity,

deprive ourselves of a part of our most valuable and rare species of defence. I am informed, Sir, that 10,000 troops of the line are now embarking or have embarked already for Ceylon. I am sure such supply is necessary for the security of the Colony, but I ask the House if they will permit the country to make so important a sacrifice, without a full and most minute inquiry into what has caused the necessity for so unfortunate a measure."

III.

OTHER EVENTS

Before the Kandyan war broke out, the agent of revenue in Colombo was busy in an attempt to reclaim Mutturājawella. The scheme was exactly the same as the one attempted by the Dutch just before their disastrous Kandyan war of 1765. (1,504) By keeping out the salt water of the Negombo lake by repairing the Dutch dyke from Tudella to Pamunugama and letting in a supply of fresh water to be distributed by dykes and canals, it was proposed to irrigate some 6,000 acres of paddy land. When the war broke out, the work had already cost over 45,000 rix-dollars and the completion was estimated to cost another 60,000. The expenses of the military establishment prevented the work and the scheme was dropped.

It was during North's administration that the Ceylon Government Gazette was started in 1802. It not only published official documents, but was intended to serve as a newspaper devoted to literary and political subjects and had room even for merry quips and poetical effusions. It is therefore the oldest newspaper of the island and as old as the crown colony.

92. MUTURAJA- WELLA SCHEME

93. THE GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

North's residence was originally in St. Peter's Fort, but as the house was leaky and dilapidated, he shifted to another house in the Fort, then to Hultsdorp, and finally to St. Sebastian. St. Peter's be-

**94. GOVERN-
MENT HOUSE**

came the residence of Macdowall. Hultsdorp was for a long time the office of the disāwa of Colombo. When North abandoned it, the office of the agent of revenue, which was previously in his residence at Tanque Salgado, was transferred to Hultsdorp. Finally when the military and the judiciary quarrelled about the infliction of corporal punishment on the parade ground of the Fort within sight of the court, and the Fort gates were closed in the face of the chief justice, Hultsdorp became the permanent abode of law and justice.

North was a courtly nobleman who lived in great state, entertained lavishly, and kept a coach and six.

**95. FREDERIC
NORTH**

Neither the Madras civilians nor Cleghorn nor General Wemyss could get on with him and it is said that his disagreements with the general hastened his departure. He relinquished office in 1805 and on the death of his brother inherited the Earldom of Guilford.

CHAPTER VI.
MAITLAND'S ADMINISTRATION
1805—1812

KING OF KANDY

Sri Wickrama Rājasinha

1798—1815

I.

ADMINISTRATION

Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Thomas Maitland, second son of the Earl of Lauderdale, who succeeded North, was a man of a different cast of mind. On account of the disputes between the military and the executive which prevailed at the close of North's administration, Maitland had a heavy task before him. He had to smooth over the difficulties between the departments, and to reform, regulate, and consolidate the administration of the country by the Crown, begun by North, but not fully developed. The new governor, though a soldier, did not concern himself with war against Kandy, nor enter into diplomacy with Pilima Talauwe, though as a member of the board of control he had taken part in the discussion in the House of Commons on the Kandyan War. He applied himself chiefly to the more urgent task of reorganizing the administration of the country.

He instituted five provincial courts with criminal and civil jurisdiction at (1) Colombo, (2) Puttlam and Chilaw, (3) Jaffna, (4) Trincomalie and Batticaloa, and (5) at Galle. The provincial judges were made distinct from the agents of revenue, and the measure is described as adopted 'for the convenience of the

**96. THE NEW
GOVERNOR**

**97. JUDICIAL
REFORMS**

the siege had thus lasted a year and ~~ten~~ months and both the besieged and besiegers were worn out by the constant warfare, Mathias de Albuquerque arrived in Colombo with a force of 300 Portuguese and determined to dislodge the enemy. The Portuguese sallied out in several detachments from different directions simultaneously and fell upon the encampments of Rājasinha. Several Sinhalese generals and captains were killed, whereupon the soldiers took to flight, and Rājasinha succeeded in leading the survivors across the river before the Portuguese could pursue. A solemn procession in Colombo celebrated the successful issue of the long protracted and determined siege of Colombo.

V.

END OF MAYADUNNA

Mayādunna, who had been the most determined foe of Kōṭṭe and the Portuguese for the last fifty years,

**127. DEATH OF
MAYADUNNA**

died at Sītāwaka without accomplishing the great object of his life.

According to the Mahāvansa, he was murdered by Rājasinha who "in the wickedness of his heart slew his father with his own hand." The Portuguese heard that he was poisoned by the son. But Mayādunna was about eighty years old and had resigned the throne to his son, so that it is difficult to imagine a motive for such a base act.

Mayādunna was a man of daring, crafty and ambitious, who shrank from nothing to secure the one object of his life. He was the

**128. HIS
CHARACTER**

youngest of the three sons of Vijaya Bāhu, and planned the despoiling of his own father. (31) He was not satisfied with the kingdom of Sītāwaka which fell to his lot, (32) and spent the rest of his life in an attempt to be king of Kōṭṭe and overlord of Ceylon. The alliance of the

Portuguese stood in the way of his scheme and he became their bitterest foe and made use of every possible weapon against them. He annexed the territories of his brother Raigam Bandāra without let or hindrance from Bhuvaneka Bāhu. He repeatedly attempted to seize the throne of Kōṭṭe, but was foiled by the Portuguese. He sought the alliance of the Samorin of Calicut, but delivered the heads of the Malabar generals to save his own. (46) He craftily embroiled Bhuvaneka Bāhu and Wickrema Bāhu with the Portuguese in order to cut them off from Portuguese assistance against himself. In order to destroy Vidiyē Bandāra and Tammita, (95—96) who stood in the way of his ambition, he feigned friendship with the Portuguese and paid tribute to Portugal. He sought the lives of both Bhuvaneka Bāhu (81) and Dharmapāla ; (119) he achieved the first and almost succeeded in the other. But none of these schemes availed to secure him the overlordship of Ceylon in spite of fifty years of ceaseless warfare.

Yet he achieved much. He brought the greater part of Kōṭṭe under his sway, and drove its king into the arms of the Portuguese. The latter he reduced to great straits ; he hemmed them in Kōṭṭe and Colombo : he forced them to abandon the one and prevented them from sallying out of the other. He was to all intents and purposes the sovereign of the low-country and planned the annexation of the highland kingdom. Though he failed in his great attempt to be overlord of Ceylon, he bequeathed his ambition to his son, along with an implacable hatred of the Portuguese, which made this island a prey to warfare, without ridding it of the foreigner, and, worst of all, paved the way to the extinction of the dynasty of Kōṭṭe and of the political independence of the island.

129. HIS

ACHIEVEMENT

CHAPTER VII. RAJASINHA I.

- | | |
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| 1. KING OF KOTTE
Don Juan | 1551—1597 |
| 2. KINGS OF KANDY
Karalliyaddē Bandāra
Rājasinha
Don Philip
Wimaladharma I. | 1582
1582—1592
1592
1592—1604 |
| 3. KING OF SITAWAKA
Rājasinhā | 1582—1592 |
| 4. KING OF JAFFNA
Puvirāja Pandāra | 1582—1591 |

I.

RAJASINHA'S OFFENSIVE

Rājasinha now turned his attention to the Uḍarata. Its king, Karalliyaddē Bandāra, had obtained a small Portuguese force for his protection, but one of his chiefs, Virasundara, mudaliyar of Perādeniya, assisted Rājasinha, who thereupon marched with a large army and routed the Uḍarata army at Balana. The king and his court fled with the Portuguese escort and were conducted to Trincomalie where the refugees were joined by another Portuguese company. The Uḍarata submitted to Rājāsinha, who thus became sovereign of a larger tract of territory than any other Sinhalese king, of the century.

Karalliyaddē Bandāra who had received baptism under the name of Don John died of smallpox, having entrusted his nephew, Yamāsinha, and his infant daughter, Dona Catherina, to the Portuguese, who took them to Mannār, where the princess was brought up with great care.

130. RAJASINHA SEIZES THE UDARATA

131. KARALLI- YADDE BANDARA

Having annexed the Uḍarata, Rājasiṅha was intent on capturing Colombo and devoted himself heart and

**132. THE GREAT
SIEGE 1587—1588**

soul to the preparation and equipment of a besieging army, consisting of the fighting forces of the many states now subject to him. For this purpose he first reduced the states to his will by mercilessly putting to death all those whom he suspected of any disaffection to him, including the greater part of his kinsmen. Virasundera Mudaliyar who had betrayed the Uḍarata to him was foully murdered, and his son, Konappu, with his followers fled to Colombo. Rājasiṅha sent embassies to foreign princēs hostile to the Portuguese to solicit their co-operation and warlike material. The Malabar pirates were desired to intercept reliefs from Goa, while the country around Colombo was carefully guarded so that no provisions might reach the city. Foraging parties scoured the environs of the city to sack and plunder the villages friendly to Dharmapāla and the Portuguese. But the rigorous and despotic exactions and executions of Rājasiṅha embittered his subjects to such an extent that they attempted to destroy him by poison. He promptly executed all suspected of complicity, without sparing even the Buddhist monks. Finally, after offering many sacrifices, even of human lives, as was believed, for the good success of his venture, he led a large and fully-armed besieging force from Sītāwaka in several divisions, and arriving before the walls of the city, again encamped at Boralugoda and on the elevated portions of the marshes of Dematagoda which in consequence are now known as Maligāwatta and Maligākanda.

Joao Correa de Brito who had succeeded to the captaincy of Colombo viewed this advance with great trepidation. The city had been cut off from all

traffic in merchandise from which its scanty revenues were drawn. Provisions were obtained with great trouble and in small quantities, scarcely sufficient for the 60,000 souls within the walls.

The fighting force consisted of only 350 Portuguese, counting the old and the weak, assisted by some lascarins, but the fortress was insufficiently stocked with ammunition and artillery. The captain

133. STATE OF CITY

therefore sent urgent messages to Goa and began to fortify the city as well as his resources permitted. The bastion of San Thome facing Boralugoda, which was the point most exposed to attack, was repaired and improved and now called the bastion of St. John; the walls were strengthened and supplied with watch towers and gun platforms; and the other landward bastions between the lake and the sea were carefully overlaid and strengthened. Portuguese and Sinhalese officers of Dharmapāla, including Konappu Bandāra, son of Virasundera of Perādeniya, who had become a Christian under the name of Don Juan of Austria, vied with one another in erecting fortifications and defending the posts.

Rājasinha now resumed the work of draining the lake which he soon accomplished by re-opening his former ditch and cutting another.

134. CONDUCT OF THE SIEGE

Having drained the lake dry, he brought the approaches within four paces of the city walls and entrenched himself with stakes, revetments, fortlets, and trenches, while his artillery kept up a continuous fire on the city. To divert him, a naval expedition set out from Colombo and devastated the coast towns.

Four general assaults were made on the city with great daring and impetuosity and an array of elephants of war under the personal direction of Rājāsinha, but they were all successfully repelled by the Portuguese. Rājāsinha, therefore, attempted to attack the city by sea, but of the four galleys commanded by foreign mercenaries and carrying Sinhalese troops that set out from Mutwal, two were sunk and the rest forced to flee. The siege, however, continued without interruption, reducing the city to great straits by famine and disease. The three bastions on the landside were repeatedly and desperately attacked and even mined, but were gallantly and successfully defended.

The Portuguese, who had received some scanty reinforcements, ravaged the coast towns in search of provisions, plundering and destroying temples. In the course of one of these marauding expeditions, the famous Vishnu Dēwālē of Dondra was destroyed and sacked by Thome de Souza. Finally in February, 1588, a relief expedition arrived from Goa, and Rājāsinha quickly raised the siege before he could be attacked. His army was pursued as far as Weragoda, but succeeded in retiring to Sitāwaka.

This was the last and the greatest of the sieges of Rājāsinha. He began it with great hopes of success, conducted it with great dexterity and skill, and employed in it all the forces at his command. He was assisted by the rājas of India who cut off the city from provisions. Muslims, Kaffirs, and Malays were also employed, especially in the naval engagements, but still the city held out in spite of paucity of men, famine, and plague.

135. ASSAULTS

136. PORTUGUESE RAVAGE THE COAST

137. CITY HOLDS OUT

II.

REVOLT OF KANDY

Rājasinha was embittered by his failure to carry Colombo and became tyrannical towards his own subjects. Sotupala Bandāra, the prince of the tributary province of the Seven Kōralēs, revolted against him and sought the aid of the Portuguese. While Rājasinha was hastening against Sotupala, the Portuguese captured the frontier forts, which so incensed the king that, abandoning his march to the Seven Kōralēs, he returned to Sitāwaka and executed the captains of the surrendered forts. He then despatched an army to chastise Sotupala, but it was defeated at Talampitiya. He then marched in person, destroyed the villages, and beheaded those who had supported the revolt of the prince, while the latter fled to the Portuguese.

In the Uḍarata likewise the standard of revolt was raised by Mudāliyar Don Francisco, a Christian grandson of Gampola Devi. The people who groaned under Rājasinha, flocked to his standard and Don Francisco expelled the agents of Sitāwaka and sent a message to Yamāsinha, the nominated heir of the last legitimate king of the Uḍarata, (131) to return to take possession of the throne of his fathers. Yamāsinha, it will be remembered, had been entrusted to the Portuguese by Karalliyaddē when he was fleeing before Rājasinha. The Portuguese took the prince to Goa, where he became a Christian under the name of Don Philip and received a pension from the king of Portugal. He was at this time in Mannār, whence he was entreating the Portuguese to place him on

**139. UDARATA
REVOLTS**

the throne. The authorities at Goa, however, were not satisfied with his proceeding, but the Franciscan friars espoused his cause and were eager to see him placed on the throne.

Thus when Don Francisco invited the prince to come and take possession of the throne, the friars

140. EXPEDITION TO THE UDARATA exerted themselves on his behalf and persuaded the viceroy to enthrone him. The expedition to the

Uḍarata had already been decided upon at the suggestion of Konappu Bandāra, alias Don Juan of Austria, who had been sent to Goa in punishment for some misdeed and had earned a name for prowess. He was an intrepid man and undertook to raise the Uḍarata against Rājāsinha. But on the intercession of the friars, it was now decided to send this expedition to enthrone Don Philip. Don Juan of Austria was not at all pleased with the subordinate position that was assigned to him, but he appeared to submit for the nonce.

A promise was exacted from Don Philip and his son Don Juan that they would be loyal vassals of

141. DON PHILIP ENTHRONED Portugal, and a document was executed bequeathing the Uḍarata to the king of Portugal in case of

failure of issue. After these preliminaries, Don Philip advanced to Kandy under a Portuguese escort. He was met by Don Francisco, who formally delivered the kingdom to him, and the new king was acclaimed at Wahakōṭṭe. The men of the Uḍarata flocked to his standard; a fort was erected at Gannōruwa and manned by Portuguese troops; and advancing to Ganēṭenna Don Philip's general, Don Juan of Austria, defeated the

forces of Rājāsinha and returned to Kandy. The Portuguese escort returned to Mannār, leaving a garrison at Gannōruwa.

The defeat of Rājāsinha's forces gave security to Don Philip, but it also stirred the ambition of Don Juan of Austria. The Franciscans who had come with the new king rebuilt the church of Senkaḍagala and began to engage themselves actively in evangelization. This was naturally displeasing to the people and gave Don Juan an opportunity of instilling into the people a mistrust of the Portuguese. The document which Don Philip and his son had signed could also be adduced against them, and Don Juan of Austria was found to be winning supporters, when Don Philip suddenly took ill and died under very suspicious circumstances. The Portuguese garrison then acclaimed his son, Don Juan, as king; but Don Juan of Austria aided by the party he had been secretly forming, seized the government of the country and besieged Gannōruwa, forcing the Portuguese to retreat to Mannār. The captain of Mannār, who was unable to intervene, managed to rescue the newly acclaimed king, the ladies of his household, and the Franciscans against whom the usurper was most wrath.

The ex-king who was a boy of twelve was sent to the college of the kings at Goa for his education. Afterwards he went to Portugal, took holy orders as a Catholic priest, renounced his claims to the Uḍa-rata in favour of the king of Portugal, and received a princely allowance on which he lived a life of luxury and ostentation, unworthy of his profession, and died in Portugal in 1642 aged 64.

III.

RAJASINHA'S END AND THE SUCCESSION

The erstwhile Don Juan of Austria, formerly Konappu Bandāra, proclaimed himself king. Rājasinha

**144. DEATH OF
RAJASINHA**

thereupon sent a large force against the usurper, but the latter successfully held the pass of Balana against the invaders. The reinforcements sent by Rājasinha were repelled with loss. Rājasinha took the defeat of his forces very much to heart and retreated in chagrin. On the way he met with an accident and refusing to let his wound be treated, he entered the royal barge to go to Ruanwellá and died on the way. It was indeed a sad death for one of the most warlike kings that ever ruled in Ceylon. His ceaseless campaigns had entailed great hardships on his subjects, but his character could not brook opposition. He is said to have killed his own father, (127) but there is no doubt that he killed all those who dared to oppose him in any particular. The failure of his many sieges was most bitter to him; and now the loss of the frontier forts and the return of Don Philip and Don Juan of Austria to Kandy broke his heart and he profited by the accident to end his disappointed life; though some local chronicle would have it that he was so detested by his own people that under the pretence of curing his wound they poisoned him.

Whatever may be the manner of his death, his personality looms large in the history of Ceylon both

**145. HIS
CHARACTER**

for weal and woe. He was even a far more implacable foe of the Portuguese than his father, and the wars which he waged against them echoed his fame beyond the limits of this island. The Portuguese describe him as a mighty general, endowed with a

military genius akin to that of Hannibal, Alexander, and Caesar. As this was an indirect compliment to themselves, in that they won the credit of holding out against such a warrior, it is doubtless an exaggeration. But there can be no doubt about his military skill and enterprise and resourcefulness. Had he been wiser in his government and devoted some time to the consolidation of his conquests, and had he been less jealous of rivals, he might have achieved the glory of uniting the whole island under his sway. But his despotism made his vassals and lieges revolt against him. His change of religion from Buddhism to Hinduism made him so much detested by the Sinhalese chroniclers that they describe him as a wicked parricide king, wantonly killing monks and burning ancient Sinhalese books. This may likewise be an exaggeration, though there is enough to show that he was wicked, haughty, and self-willed.

Yet he was by far the greatest monarch that this island had for centuries. His ambitious effort to drive the Portuguese out of the island

146. HIS ACHIEVEMENTS made him a hero in the popular imagination. The magnitude of his exploits and the grandeur of his schemes made him the terror of the Portuguese. He was an instance of how a brave and warlike king may be the cause of a country's rise or its downfall according to the wisdom or folly of his counsels. Rājāsinha missed being the country's deliverer only to become the cause of its downfall. For his death brought about a complete change in the affairs of this island. He had done away with every rival, and no prince of the royal line was now left to stand up to the Portuguese. Thus the extensive empire which he had brought under his sway crumbled in a short time and was soon reduced to the subjection of

Dharmapāla to become eventually a Portuguese possession. In the Uḍarata, however, Rājāsinha's death gave rise to the establishment of a new dynasty, destined to be the hereditary foe of the Portuguese.

The new king of Kandy assumed the name of Wimaladharma Sūriya and governed the country with great sagacity. His long acquaintance with the Portuguese, their way of living, their military tactics, and their vices, now enabled him to defy that nation most successfully. His knowledge of the likes and dislikes of his countrymen helped him to please them and win popularity by professing great zeal for Buddhism, erecting religious edifices and above all by setting up a Daladā Maligawa in his metropolis. What he still lacked was a just title to the throne and the Portuguese in their blindness soon supplied even this deficiency, as we shall see. (158, 181)

CHAPTER VIII.

GROWTH OF PORTUGUESE POWER.

1. KING OF KOTTE	
Don Juan	1551—1597
2. KING OF KANDY	
Wimaladharmā	1592—1604
3. KINGS OF SITAWAKA	
Rājasūriya	1592
Nikapitiyē Bandāra	1592
Don Juan (of Kotte)	1593—1597
4. KINGS OF JAFFNA	
Puvirāja Pandāram	1582—1591
Hendarmana Sinha (Pararāsa Sekeran)	1591—1615

I.

JAFFNA BECOMES A PORTUGUESE PROTECTORATE.

Sankily who had massacred the Christians of Mannār in 1544, (62) and succeeded in throwing off the Portuguese yoke in 1560, (107) was so cruel a monarch that his own subjects finally revolted against him and set up his son, Puvirāja Pandāram, on the throne. This throne was next seized by Kasi Naynar who also was so unacceptable to the people that, with the assistance of the Portuguese of Mannār, they imprisoned the king and raised another to the throne. Kasi Naynar, however, escaped from prison and seized the throne, whereupon he was assassinated at the instigation of the captain of Mannār, who then raised Periya Pulle to the throne under the new name of Chegarāja Sekeran.

He was succeeded by Puvirāja Pandāram or Pararāsa Sekeran who desired to rid his kingdom of the Portuguese and laid siege to Mannār, but the auxiliary

force from Calicut which he had bespoken did not come in time, and being repulsed with great loss, he wreaked his vengeance on the Christian population of Mantōṭa. The Portuguese, coming to know that a Calicut fleet had set sail to aid the rāja of Jaffna, despatched an expedition under the command of Andre de Furtado de Mendonca. At Portugal Bay he encountered the Calicut fleet with the men on land and, capturing the camp, he destroyed the fleet and arrived at Mannār in triumph with the captured vessels. Thence he made for Jaffna with a large force of Portuguese and lascarins to chastise the king. The fleet arrived at Kolombuturai, dispersed the king's forces, marched to Paṭṭanam, now Jaffnapatam, and seized the store-houses.

Next day the army advanced to Nallūr, carrying the stockades on the way with great mortality. At Nallūr the king's forces made a determined stand, but were soon

**149. EXPEDITION
OF FURTADO**

overpowered. A young prince, son of Periya Pulle, was on the point of being slain, when Simão Pinhao rescued him, an incident which is now found sculptured on a slab in the Sabaragamuwa Maha Saman Dēwāle. Puvirājam Pandāra attempted to escape, but was captured and beheaded, and many members of the household were taken prisoners. The spoil included money, rich jewellery, vessels, and artillery, much of the last bearing the arms of Portugal.

Furtado next issued a proclamation, calling upon the people of the kingdom to resume their occupations in peace and summoning the chieft men to a convention. He then

**150. THE NALLUR
CONVENTION**

asked the assembled chiefs to acclaim the king of Portugal as suzerain of Jaffna, promising to maintain the laws and customs of the country. This was accepted, and the two parties took an oath, and Furtado, on the advice of his council, placed on the

throne the prince rescued by Simao Pinhao. The new king, Hendarmane Sinhā, was a son of Periya Pulle and took the name of Pararāsa Sekeran and was accorded a garrison of Portuguese and lascarins. Grateful to the Portuguese for the preservation of his life and the restoration of his state, this king remained loyal to the end of his life, (1591—1615). A plot was made by



Sabaragamuwa Dēwāle slab

some dissatisfied chiefs to enthrone another prince with the aid of the rāja of Tanjore and Wimaladharmā Sūriya, but the captain of Mannār captured the force sent from Tanjore and frustrated the plot. Pararāsa was suspected of being in league with the monarch of Kandy, though he greatly favoured Christianity and gave the Franciscans leave to build churches and increase converts.

II.

SITAWAKA RE-ANNEXED TO KOTTE

In Sitāwaka the effects of Rājasinha's death were most disastrous. Contests for succession caused great dissensions, for Rājasinha had no surviving son. The most powerful man in the kingdom was

**151. NIKAPITIYE
BANDARA**

Manampēri Mohottāla or Aritta Kivendu Perumal, an Indian fakir, who had become a great general and a favourite of Rājasinha. This man now decided to make a bid for the kingship. Rajasūriya, a grandson of Rājasinha, was proclaimed king, but was assassinated soon afterwards with the connivance of Manampēri. Thereupon the widow of Vidiyē Bandāra, Maha Biso Bandāra, who was a sister of Rājasinha and a person of great influence, succeeded in securing the throne to her grandson, Nikapiṭiya Bandāra, as he was the nearest kinsman of Rājasinha. Manampēri acquiesced with ulterior views. The boy was acclaimed with the grandmother as regent and Manampēri as commander-in-chief. But Manampēri's ascendancy displeased the two other generals, Panikki Mudaliyar and Kuruppu Mudaliyar, who thereupon went over to Dharmapāla with their forces.

The captain of Colombo, Pedro Homem Pereira, wishing to fish in troubled waters, despatched a Sinhalese detachment to Alutkūru Kōralē. Manampēri fell upon this force, routed it, and returning to

**152. MANAMPERI
MOHOTTALE**

Sitāwaka, sought to marry the king's sister in the hope of eventually supplanting the boy king, but Maha Biso Bandāra rejected his advances with scorn. Manampēri then retired to Menikkaḍavara, increased his army, and sent a message to Colombo, offering to place all the territories of Kōṭṭe under subjection to Dharmapāla, if

he were supported in his pretensions to Sitāwaka. The Portuguese captain accepted the offer, and Manamōēri assumed the name of Jayavīra Bandāra in anticipation of success; but his followers deserted him, and he was forced to flee to Colombo and take service under Dharmapāla. Panikki Mudaliyar thereupon returned to Sitāwaka and became the commander-in-chief.

Within six months of these events, the forces of Sitāwaka were defeated at Rakgahawatta, Kaḍuwala and Malwana, and the whole of the ancient kingdom of Kōṭṭe was restored to Dharmapāla. To oppose further invasion, Panikki Mudaliyar was quickly despatched to Gurubēbile with the whole force of Sitāwaka. But the mudaliyar's heart failed him, and he deserted to the Portuguese for the second time. Gurubēbile was taken, and the Sitāwaka force slain or routed. The victorious army hastened to the city of Sitāwaka, captured and sacked the city. Jayavīra secured the greater part of the treasures and began to play the great lord. Nikapitiya Bandāra and his grandmother were pursued and captured, Jayavīra profiting by the opportunity to slay all those who had opposed him. The Mātara disāwani was soon reduced and the whole of Sitāwaka and Kōṭṭe now acknowledged Dharmapāla.

Nikapitiya Bandāra was entrusted to the Franciscans who educated him in the College of St. Anthony in Colombo and baptized him under the name of Don Philip. He subsequently went to follow the course of arts at Goa and finally to the university of Coimbra where he died in 1611, the first Ceylonese to be entered on the books of a European university.

III.

ATTEMPT TO SUBJUGATE KANDY, 1594

Pedro Homem Pereira garrisoned Sītāwaka and the frontiers and returned to Colombo. He had the

**154. SUCCESS OF
PORTUGUESE**

good fortune to accomplish in a few months what the Portuguese had in vain attempted for many years. The kingdoms of Jaffna, Sītāwaka, and Kōṭṭe were now Portuguese protectorates. The ease with which this was accomplished made the Portuguese dream of reducing the Uḍarata to the same pass. Wimaladharma Sūriya was a usurper, an apostate from Christianity, and very hostile to the Portuguese. The lawful heir to the kingdom was the daughter of Karalliyaddē, entrusted to the Portuguese in his dying hour and brought up by them at Mannār. (131) It seemed the easiest thing in the world to oust the renegade and enthrone the legitimate heir who was now a girl in her teens. Pereira therefore communicated his plans to the viceroy through a friend, Pero Lopes de Souza, and asked for reinforcements. His friend, however, thought of securing the glory of the enterprise to himself and negotiated with the viceroy and had himself nominated conquistador of Ceylon.

In May, 1594, Souza arrived in Ceylon with six hundred Portuguese soldiers, and sending a party to escort

**155. PERO LOPES
DE SOUZA**

Dona Catherina, he marched to Uḍarata with Jayavīra Bandāra and his men. Pedro Homem Pereira, the captain of Colombo, was indignant that the conduct of this expedition should have been entrusted to Souza and remained sullenly in Colombo. Souza led the expedition through Attanagala, Mēnik-kaḍavara, and Polgahawela, where he was joined by Vidiyē Bandāra, prince of the Seven Kōralēs, who had fallen out with Wimaladharma. Dona Catherina was

brought from Mannār, and the général made for Senkaḍagala. Wimaladharma's forces which tried to oppose the march were routed, and he himself fled the city. The Portuguese crossed the river, encamped in the city and sent detachments in all directions to reduce the vassal states. The prince of Uva was captured and beheaded, but there was no opposition in the other provinces.

Accordingly they acclaimed Dona Catherina queen of the Uḍarata. The people rejoiced indeed to see a scion of their royal line once more enthroned, but were very suspicious when they found that their queen was surrounded by Portuguese and that her countrymen and lieges had no access to her. To add to these forebodings, it was rumoured that Souza intended to marry the queen, or at least that she was to have a Portuguese husband. Jayavīra thereupon came forward as a candidate for the queen's hand, but the general, unwilling to offend the powerful commander-in-chief of the Sinhalese forces by a refusal, found an excuse for deferring the matter.

Under the circumstances the wily Wimaladharma made advances to Jayavīra to betray the Portuguese to him. Jayavīra accordingly sent a detachment to Uva and betrayed it into the hands of Wimaladharma and urged the general to avenge the insult in the hope of luring him out of the city. The general, whose suspicions were aroused, found reason for not following his advice. Meanwhile the people were quitting Senkaḍagala to join Wimaladharma, and the Portuguese were hard put to it to find provisions for such a large army. Some inkling of the treacherous dealings of Jayavīra had also reached the ears of the general and he was beginning to be very cautious, when one of

Jayavira's own kinsmen betrayed the plot. Jayavira was forthwith seized and slain, and his treasures confiscated, whereupon all the lascarins deserted the Portuguese, who found themselves alone in a hostile country.

It was therefore decided to retreat to Colombo in all haste, and the Portuguese reached Gannōruwa, when

**158. PORTUGUESE
SURROUNDED
AND SLAIN**

they were surrounded by Wimaladharmā. The Portuguese then determined to sell their lives dearly and fought obstinately, but were slain, only 93 men, including Souza who was badly wounded, surviving. Wimaladharmā returned to Senkadagala in triumph with the prisoners, conducting Dona Cathérina whom he promptly married. Souza was carefully nursed of his wounds, but soon expired, entrusting his son to Wimaladharmā. Of the other captives, some were set to work in building the royal palace, but forty men, horribly mutilated in the face, and with only one eye for every four, were sent to Colombo to show the victor's contempt.

Pereira, who had not stirred a finger to help the general, repented of it, when he learnt of the disgrace that had befallen the Portuguese arms, and attempted to relieve his countrymen, but it was too late. The whole country now rose in revolt. Kangara, an Ārachchi in Portuguese service, profited by the disorder to head a rebellion.

IV.

DON JERONIMO DE AZEVEDO (1584—1611)

When the news of this great disaster reached Goa, the viceroy immediately despatched Don Jeronimo de

159. AZEVEDO

**CAPTAIN-GENERAL
OF CEYLON**

Azevedo as captain-general of Ceylon to recover the lost territories and retrieve the lost reputation. Azevedo set out from Colombo in January 1595, taking Dharmapāla with him to attract the people

and inflicting great cruelties in the revolted territories to instil terror and in retaliation for the mutilation of prisoners. He soon mastered Rakgahawatta, Nawagamuwa, Gurubēbile, and Sitāwaka, placed Dharmapāla in the palace of Sitāwaka, and appointed Domingos Correa Edirille Mudaliyar as disāwa of the Seven Kōralēs, and Don Fernando Samarakōn Mudaliyar as disāwa of Mātara. Malwana, Gurubēbile, Ruanwella, and Menikkaḍavara were garrisoned and Denavaka and the Four Kōralēs reduced to obedience, and stockades were erected at Galle, Kalutara, Negombo, and Chilaw.

But at this juncture Mudaliyar Domingos Correa rose against the Portuguese. He was a son of the interpreter of Dharmapāla, and a man of great pride and ambition, whose throat had been cut on the orders of Rājasinha, but who had escaped death with only a scar. Born and bred amongst Portuguese, he was allied to them by inter-marriage and had been made commander-in-chief of the lascarins. But profiting by the general resentment against the severities of Azevedo, he raised the standard of revolt along with his cousin Naide Appu, otherwise Juan Fernandez. He tried to tempt Samarakōn Rala also join him, but that mudaliyar was a loyal supporter of Dharmapāla and the Portuguese.

On learning of this revolt, Azevedo feared for the safety of Dharmapāla and immediately recalled the garrisons of Menikkaḍavara and Ruanwella to Sitāwaka; but as the country around was in revolt, he resolved to retreat to Colombo by way of Gurubēbile. Dharmapāla and his queen, escorted by the three garrisons, reached Gurubēbile with great trouble and difficulty, but as the roads to Colombo were held by the

**160. REBELLION
OF DOMINGOS
CORREA**

**161. RETREAT
FROM
SITAWAKA**

rebels, it was thought prudent to retreat by Horana. Pursued and harassed by the supporters of Correa and Kangara, they fought their way to Horana only to find it occupied by the rebels in full force. But a relieving force sent from Colombo attacked and dispersed the rebels and succeeded in conducting the king and queen safe to Colombo.

Colombo and Galle were all that were now left to Dharmapāla, all the rest of the recently recovered territories being up in arms. Azevedo, however, with invincible courage again took the field and recovered and refortified Rakgahawatta and proceeding to Gurubēbile defeated a force led by the rebel's brother Siman Correa. Another force was defeated at Uḍugampola and much of the rebel's treasures captured. Correa himself fled to Senkaḍagala, where he was received with all honour by Wimaladharma, who supplied him with men and arms to continue the struggle. With these Correa, who had now assumed the title of Edirille Bandāra, set out for Uḍuwara where Samarakōn was. Wimaladharma also descended on the low-country and routed a force under Don Constantine Navaratna, nephew of Dharmapāla.

By 1596 Azevedo received some reinforcements which enabled him to fortify Malwana and scour the country, forcing the men of Uḍarata to retreat to Senkaḍagala.

163. CAPTURE OF DOMINGOS CORREA Samarakōn, who had been despatched to recover the Mātara disāwani, was at Uḍuwara, when Domingos Correa came upon him with a large force; but when the rebel gave battle, he was routed and had to flee in disguise, with a price upon his head. He was accordingly betrayed and delivered into the hands of Samarakōn who took him down to Kalu-

tara where Azevedo was. The victorious mudaliyar received an ovation, and the captive was taken to Colombo, tried, and executed.

The Portuguese again took the field, but Wimaladharmapala persuaded Siman Correa to continue the work begun by his brother, Domingos. He therefore assumed the title of Navaratna Bandāra and acclaimed himself king of Sītāwaka and with the aid of Rājasinha, prince of Denavaka, Mayādunna of the Four Kōralēs, and Jotupala of the Seven, he opposed the attempts of the Portuguese to reduce the Four and Seven Kōralēs. The Portuguese, however, held their own, and building a fort at Sītāwaka, assaulted Kurunēgala on one side and Kendangamuwa and Batugedera on the other. A fort was erected on the site of a temple at Kuruwita and maintained in the teeth of Wimaladharmapala, who attempted to reduce it by corrupting the lascarins and by laying siege to it, but without avail. An attempt on Samarakōṇ at Ruhuna was equally unsuccessful.

V.

END OF DHARMAPALA

While these events were taking place, Don Juan Dharmapāla, the last Sinhalese king of Kōṭṭe, died on the 27th May, 1597. He was the most pathetic figure in Ceylon history, who brought trouble on himself and all connected with him. He was the favourite grandson of Bhuvaneka Bāhu whom he resembled even in gait and personal appearance, and who wished to make him his heir, a decision which brought untold misery to this country. It gave offence to Mayādunna and turned him into a relentless foe. The embassy to Lisbon gave rise to misunderstandings between the king and the Portuguese.

164. REVOLT OF JOTUPALA

165. DEATH OF DHARMAPALA

Though called to the throne when quite a boy by the sudden death of his grandfather, it was never his lot to rule his realms. During his minority Vidiyē Bandāra and Tammita Rāla ruled the land; when he reached man's estate, there were no lands to rule, and he was dependent on the Portuguese even for his living, while they waged war on his behalf with little reference to him. He was thrice married, but had no children, and in his gratitude to the Portuguese, who had upheld him so long, he bequeathed his territories to the king of Portugal.

From his youth he had been instructed in Christianity by the Franciscan friars and received baptism, as soon as the political state of the country permitted him to take that eventful step. By doing so, he alienated some subjects who went over to Mayādunna, but it was on account of his conversion that the Portuguese espoused his cause so wholeheartedly. He remained firm in his religion in spite of many vicissitudes and undeterred by the vexations inflicted on him by individual Portuguese. His zeal went the length of withdrawing the revenues of lands from the temples and granting them to the Franciscans for the erection of churches and colleges, and in his lifetime there were about a hundred parishes in the island.

He was very popular among his subjects who spoke of him by no other name than that of Maha Bandāra, for which reason the Portuguese chronicles call him Periya Pandaram. The Portuguese held him in great esteem, and he had around him the outward semblance of royalty, even kept a court and nominated ambassadors to represent him at Goa,

Lisbon, and Rome. His funeral was celebrated with great pomp, and he was buried in the Franciscan church, situated in what is now Gordon Gardens. In his honour no other burials were permitted in that church. His third queen, Dona Isabella, survived him and received a pension from Portugal.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PORTUGUESE DOMINATION

-1597—1602

1. **KINGS OF KOTTE**

Philip I. of Portugal 1597—1598

Philip II. „ „ 1598—1621

2. **KING OF KANDY**

Wimaladharmā 1592—1604

3. **KING OF JAFFNA**

Pararāsa Sekeran

(Hendarmana Sinha) 1591—1615

I.

KOTTE BECOMES A PORTUGUESE POSSESSION

On the death of Dharmapāla, the kingdom of Kōṭṭe with all its appurtenances passed to Philip I, king of

169. DONATION OF DHARMAPĀLA

Portugal, by virtue of a deed of gift. This donation, first made in 1580 to Don Henrique, was renewed and ratified in 1583, after the death of that monarch, in favour of Philip I. and his successors. On each occasion a solemn assembly of the lieges of Dharmapāla was convoked in the precincts of the palace, and when the donation had been read and interpreted, the people elected representatives to declare in their name that they were content with the donation and would accept the king of Portugal as their king, and renounce their right and claim to elect a king of their own nation. Dharmapāla himself and the mohoṭṭālas then solemnly declared that the kingdom of Kōṭṭe consisted of the kingdoms then known as Kōṭṭe, Sītāwaka, Raigama, Kande-Uḍarata, and Jaffna, of the provinces of the Four and Seven

Kōralēs, Mātara, Denawaka, Welewara Kosgama, Pālugama, Batticaloa, Kottiār, Trincomalie, and Puttlam. Finally a clause was added stating that the donation would be null and void in case an heir was born to Dharmapāla.

In terms of this donation, Don Jeronimo de Azevedo assembled the nobles and people on the 29th May, 1597,

170. PROCLAMATION OF PHILIP OF PORTUGAL

to proclaim the accession of Philip. The proclamation was made according to the Portuguese ceremonial. The officials of the people elected for the occasion, namely a mudaliyar, an ārachchy, and a pattankatti, along with the captain-general, the captain of Colombo, and other public officials, took the oath of allegiance to the new king: and one of the chief Sinhalese noblemen took the royal banner of Portugal, and all passed in procession through the streets of Colombo, acclaiming King Philip as king of Kōṭṭe.

The intention of the Portuguese was to make this island a new Portugal, administering it according to the laws and ordinances of Portugal.

171. MALWANA CONVENTION

But as the people were known to be attached to their customs, it was decided after some consultation not to take such a step without the formal assent of the people. Accordingly the general convoked a convention at Malwāna. He directed each of the Kōralēs to send two deputies to Malwāna on a fixed day. When all the deputies had assembled at this first council of territorially elected representatives, it was proposed to them that, as they were now subjects of Philip, it was fit that they should be governed according to the laws of Portugal; and that, if they consented, the nobles would continue to enjoy the rights, privileges, and immunities they had hitherto enjoyed. The

deputies asked two days' time to deliberate, and at its conclusion declared that their ancient laws and customs were very dear to them, and that it would not be in the interests of King Philip or their own to make any change; but that if the king of Portugal would maintain in their regard the rights, usages, and customs and privileges in which they had been brought up, they would serve King Philip with the same zeal and fidelity with which they served their own kings. This settlement with a special clause regarding religion, namely that no person would be hindered from embracing Christianity, just as no one would be forced to do so, was agreed to, and Azevedo in the name of King Philip took an oath to uphold the laws and customs of the Sinhalese, and the deputies in their turn to serve the Portuguese king well and faithfully.

Though the general swore to maintain the ancient laws of Ceylon, he had neither the leisure nor the inclination to codify the traditional laws of Ceylon for the guidance of the foreign administrators. He did indeed continue the system of government that obtained in Dharmapāla's life-time; but while hitherto the administration had been in the hands of men born and bred to the system, it was now to be administered by foreigners unacquainted with the spirit of the unwritten laws. The result was that they enforced the 'letter' of the law without its spirit, and exacted the customary *rājakāriya* and the dues, without regard to the duties which the system traditionally imposed on the sovereign and his ministers, and without any regard to the fundamental system of caste. Under the shadow of the Portuguese officials there arose also a class of Sinhalese officials who freed themselves from the traditional observances, and, profiting by the ignorance of the officials, bullied and fleeced their own countrymen

just like the foreigners. Thus the Portuguese administration of the Sinhalese laws told heavily on the people at large, who found themselves tyrannized without hope of redress.

The Sinhalese system in itself easily led to abuse, for as in the case of the manorial system prevalent in

173. THE SINHA- LESE SYSTEM

Europe in the Middle Ages, its success and efficacy depended in great measure on the bond between the lord and his tenants and serfs.

The territory of Kōṭṭe which now passed into the effective control of the Portuguese was only what

174. THE DOMAIN OF THE PORTUGUESE

they actually held by force of arms. It consisted of the littoral strip from Puttlam to the Walawē, from the sea coast to the fringe of the central highlands. This tract was divided into four disāwanis, excluding Colombo, which was a royal city with the rights and privileges and administration of a Portuguese *cidade* with a chamber or camara of elected members, judges and aldermen for its civil administration and a captain for its military government. The four disāwanis were Mātara, Sabaragamuwa, the Four and Seven Kōralēs. All four began from outside the walls of Colombo. From what is now Galle Face to the Walawē river constituted the disāwani of Mātara; from the modern Kayman's Gate to Puttlam, the disāwani of the Seven Kōralēs; the inland parts were divided into the disāwanis of the Four Kōralēs, roughly the present district of Kēgalla along with the adjoining districts of the Western Province; and Sabaragamuwa, roughly the modern Ratnapura district and a part of Kalutara district.

The civil, military, and judicial government of each of these was entrusted to an officer called the

disāwa or captain-major. He administered the province, mustered and led the lascarins of the disāwani to battle, dispensed justice, being assisted in this latter task by an adigār, mohottālas and basnāyakas. He had the power to condemn to death, to imprison and impose fines. The disāwa was distinguished in battle by a white shield with a red spot in the centre, and the disāwa of Mātara took precedence over the others. The disāwas received no pay, but following the Sinhalese custom of granting *nindagam*, (7) each received for his maintenance the dues of certain villages within his province which supplied him with products for commerce, fruits for his table, and men for his service. At first the disāwas were generally Sinhalese, but after the many rebellions, Portuguese were preferred.

Each disāwani was divided into a number of kōralēs and each kōralē contained a number of villages. At the head of each kōralē was a kōralē vidhāna, who was a magistrate as well as collector of revenue, and he was assisted by four *atukōrālas*. It was their business to collect the royal dues and to see them transported, to settle disputes by fines or other customary punishments, and to carry out the orders of the general and the disāwa. Villages also had vidhānes, and some villages were grouped into a department with a vidhāna at its head. Such for instance were the vidhāna of the mahābadda or the cinnamon department; vidhāna of the agras or gem-lands; vidhāna of the kūruwē or elephant department, and the fertile and productive lands of Bulatgama which were placed under a special vidhāna. Both Sinhalese and Portuguese were appointed to these

vidhānaships, and as the post was lucrative and influential, it was eagerly sought by both, and some, both Sinhalese and Portuguese, held several vidhānaships at the same time.

There were lesser officials such as mohottālas, kangānis, liannahs for each village and kōralē. In

177. MINOR OFFICIALS

In each village there were a number of headmen called '*majoral*' who had to see to the upkeep of public works, such as roads and bridges, to keep the flood gates in repair, to feed the soldiers who happened to pass through the village, or the messengers who came on government duty, to supply coolies for the service of the disāwas or vidhānas and to supply them with victuals when they passed. All these officers, high and low, received no pay, but held lands in return for these services. In short all payments for office, for service, and for labour, were in land. These lands so held were subject to customary dues.

All land belonged to the king; their usufruct was reserved to the king (*gabadāgam*) or to churches (*vihāragam* and *dēwalagam*) or to officials (*nindagam*) or to craftsmen in the royal service (*kūruwēgam*,

178. LAND TENURE

āgragam) or to the soldiery for service in war (*paraveni*). The *gabadāgam* were cultivated for the king by the tenants, and were now either reserved for the government or granted to the general and military officers. The *vihāragam*, likewise, were cultivated by the tenants, who paid dues to the churches, monasteries, and schools and rendered service. The services of Portuguese troops, of soldiers and settlers, were rewarded by grants in land. The lord of a village had a *mutteṭtu*, a land which the villagers cultivated for his benefit, in which was a house for his residence. He often lived there and exacted service and dues, or

placed a vidhāna who acted in his name. The exaction of dues and services caused great hardship to the people at the best of times, but when the system was administered by Portuguese officials, regardless of caste and bent on their gain, and through subordinate officials intent on their own ends and protected by their superiors, it became a tyranny under which the people groaned. This was the chief cause of the rebellions which were incessant during the Portuguese regime.

The lascarins enlisted from each disāwani had to serve in war at stated periods. In the time of the Sinhalese kings these periods were

179. LASCARINS

few and far between, and they had time and opportunity to cultivate their lands. But now wars were incessant, and the men had to be away from their homes for months together. If they died in war, the family lost the *paraveniya*, unless a son or brother of the dead man undertook the service, for the service was attached to the land, which was heritable and could be alienated, provided the purchaser undertook to serve. The lascarins were placed under ārachchis and mudaliyars, who were the officers and held land for their service. The mudaliyar at the head of all the lascarins, or their commander-in-chief was called Wickremesinha, a post given to Sinhalese, and to Portuguese only if they happened to be married to Sinhalese. These officers were very influential and treated the lascarins with great disdain, and most of the rebellions against the Portuguese and the desertions to the king of the Uḍarata were their work.

During this time the Portuguese held possession of the low-country where large numbers of Portuguese settled down to engage in different

180. SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

occupations or trade in cinnamon and arecanuts. A large number of Sinhalese and Tamil people now embraced Christianity,

and churches and parishes and schools sprang up everywhere. So much so that, as the number of Franciscan friars was insufficient, the general invited the Society of Jesus to found a college in Colombo for higher studies and to undertake mission work in the Seven Kōralēs. The Dominicans also came for the same purpose, and altogether four religious orders had monasteries, schools, and parishes in Colombo. As this town was now free from the dangers of sieges, suburbs grew up outside the city walls, such as Mutwal and San Sebastian.

II,

ATTEMPTS ON THE UDARATA

The assumption of government by the Portuguese was naturally opposed by Wimaladharma. Though
181. WIMALA-DHARMA AND THE PORTUGUESE himself a usurper, he was now, thanks to the Portuguese, the husband of the legitimate heir; and therefore considered himself the lawful sovereign of Kōtṭe also. He had been educated and trained by the Portuguese and was quite well acquainted with their ambitions, their style of warfare as well as their weakness; and as the sole surviving Sinhalese ruler, he had the support of the nation and gave a ready welcome to refugees from Portuguese territory and to rebels against the Portuguese rule.

Soon after the death of Dharmapāla, he decided to harass the Portuguese and sent a force under Mayādunna of Denavaka and
182. WARFARE Siman Correa to the frontiers of the Mātara disāwani to assail Samarakōn who was encamped at Kaṭuwana. The disāwa attacked the invaders, but was repulsed, whereupon sending for reinforcements, he separated the invading army and after defeating Mayādunna

he turned on the main body, inflicting heavy loss, and sent the Portuguese troops to Sabaragamuwa. On the news of these successful operations, King Philip appointed Samarakōṇ Rāla a knight of the Order of Christ with revenues for his maintenance. He was thus the first Sinhalese to be dubbed a knight of a western order of chivalry.

Wimaladharmā himself came down to the Four Kōralēs and encamped at Iddamalpane, and Mudaliyar

183. RETURN OF CORREA

Gaspar Correa, who marched against him, was killed along with the Portuguese troops, as the lascarins deserted to the king. Thereupon the whole of the Four Kōralēs declared for Wimaladharmā. To suppress this *peraliya*, the Portuguese army traversed the Four Kōralēs and erected a fort at Attanagala which was an important junction of roads. The king in his turn fortified Deḍigama to protect Iddamalpane. But Siman Correa quarrelled with the king and came back to the Portuguese, who were only too glad to receive him. Fearing an attack on his camp, the king despatched a force to Chilaw, whereupon the Portuguese marched into the Seven Kōralēs, destroyed Mundacondapola Nuwara and fortified Chilaw. A Vadagār force sent against it was defeated. The Portuguese then erected a fort at Alauwa and marched against the king whose forces were defeated in a well-fought battle. Wimaladharmā then abandoned Iddamalpane and returned to Senkaḍagala.

Azevedo now turned his attention from defensive to offensive warfare and prepared to invade the Uḍarata.

184. AZEVEDO'S PLANS

Alauwa and Pentenigoḍa were fortified, and Menikkaḍavara was chosen for the headquarters of the invading force. A strong fort was built there, from which incursions were made. To turn him

away from these activities, Wimaladharmā ordered attacks to be made in Sabaragamuwa; but the Portuguese marched thither and placed a garrison at Baṭuḡeḍera. A similar diversion in the Seven Kōralēs led to the erection of a fort at Ētagaletōṭa. The garrison of Baṭuḡeḍera, however, fell out with its captain about the Sinhalese new year, and under the leadership of Koratōṭa Kuruppu Ārachchya, they devastated the Hewāgam Kōralē, destroying the churches and colleges. Azevedo mustered his troops, overran the country, attacked the dēwalē of Sabaragamuwa, where the rebels were encamped, and reinforced Kuruwita and Baṭuḡeḍera. The rebels thereupon surrendered, and Kuruppu made terms with Azevedo.

Wimaladharmā was now minded to let the Portuguese alone, but the brave and warlike men of the Four Kōralēs appealed to him, and he again endeavoured to beat off the Portuguese. Raising a large army, he built forts at Moṭṭapoliya and Kiriwallapiṭiya and encamped at Talampitiya urging the people to flock to his standard. The latter, therefore, set fire to the Portuguese camp at Pentenigoḍa, which, however, did not prevent the army from marching against the king. The lascarins had been corrupted and deserted to the king during the battle, but the Portuguese force succeeded in routing the king after a long and sanguinary battle. Puzzella Mudaliyar deserted Wimaladharmā and coming over to the Portuguese did great havoc in the kōralē till he was finally betrayed and killed.

These reverses made Wimaladharmā offer peace to the general and release the son of Pero Lopes de Souza and some friars; but Azevedo was intent on subduing the Uḍarata and was making preparations for an advance on Senkadagala. His energy

**185. WIMALA-
DHARMA'S
ACTIVITY**

**186. EXPEDITION
TO UDARATA**

gave promise of success and the viceroy not only promised reinforcements, but even looked eagerly forward to the punishment of the erstwhile Don Juan of Austria. While awaiting the promised reinforcements, Azevedo opened military roads from the camp of Menikkaḍavara to the Four and Seven Kōralēs; and Wimaladharmā attempted to frustrate his plans by appealing to the people of the subjugated lands to rise against the Portuguese. The lascarins of Denavaka responded to this call and rose in revolt, compelling the Portuguese to shut themselves up in the forts of Kuruwita and Baṭugeḍera, but a Portuguese force dispersed the insurgents and provisioned the forts. An attack on the forts of Menikkaḍavara and Ētgaletōṭa also proved unavailing and only made the Portuguese devastate the lands and destroy the temples.

In the Seven Kōralēs there revolted an Indian Christian, named Manoel Gomez, who was there a captain of lascarins. Together

**187. REVOLT OF
MANOEL GOMEZ**

with two other discontented officers in the Portuguese service, Gāmbira Ārachchy and Tennekōn, he destroyed the churches of Caymel and Palansena, killed the priest, and raised the people to revolt. The Portuguese, with their usual ferocity, chastised the insurgents and destroyed the temple of Munisseram. Heṭṭi Ārachchi attacked the fort of Alauwa and slew the garrison. Upon these movements, Wimaladharmā hurried down and encamped at Damunugashinna to lay siege to Moṭṭapoliya, but when the Portuguese despatched a relieving force, he raised camp. Manoel Gomez was captured and beheaded, and Azevedo abandoned Alauwa and Ētgaletōṭa and erected a fort at Hatalispauwa.

In 1601 Azevedo received some reinforcements and traversed the Four Kōralēs with fire and sword, reducing the province to submission, and erected a fort at Diwala and Attāpiṭiya which commanded the *māwata* or main road to the Uḍarata. This ring of forts made it quite clear to the king that Azevedo was bent on invading his realm. He therefore mustered an army, obtained a reinforcement of Vadagārs from India and gave battle to the Portuguese, but was forced to abandon the field.

In 1602 Azevedo again advanced on Kandy. Wimaladharma who was at Ganēṭenna stirred up hostilities all along the frontiers and attacked the forts. At Hatalispauwa he succeeded in surprising the fort and capturing the garrison, but Ganēṭenna itself was beset by the Portuguese, forcing the king to abandon it. Azevedo thought that the time was opportune for his long planned expedition and pressed the viceroy for troops. When these arrived, he succeeded in occupying the hill of Balana, the key to the Uḍarata.

Wimaladharma now realized that his position was perilous and that he had failed to deter the general.

The revolts of Domingos Correa (160) and his brother Siman, (162) of Manoel Gomez (186) and other ārachchis and lascarins taught him that there was more to be gained from defections in the Portuguese army than from field battles. He therefore now decided to solicit the commander-in-chief of the lascarins. This post, contrary to the usual practice, was now held by a stout Portuguese soldier of renown, named Simao Pinhao, (149) who had married a sister of Nikapitiyō Bandāra, ex-king of Sītawāka, and was very popular with the Sinhalese. To him therefore Wimaladharma made overtures. At first covertly and

188. RING OF FORTS

189. A DEEP-LAID PLOT

by metaphors and afterwards openly he invited Pinhao to betray the Portuguese army to him, promising to make him king of Sitāwaka. Pinhao informed Azevedo of the move and on the general's instructions pretended to accept the offer in order to catch the king in his own net. Secret communications were opened and Pinhao undertook to admit a party of the king's troops into his camp, to seize the Portuguese, and to deliver the captain-major into their hands. In return the king promised to give Pinhao men, arms, and means to become king of Sitāwaka. A day was fixed for each of the two parties to swear to the fulfilment of his share. Pinhao was to send five Portuguese to the king at Balana to swear to the terms, and the king five prominent Sinhalese to Ganēṭenna for the same purpose. Azevedo's plan was that the Portuguese eputies should seize the opportunity to slay the king and give a signal, whereupon the Portuguese would rush in and march triumphantly to Senkaḍagala. For this purpose he secretly concentrated all the Portuguese troops on the frontiers, garrisoning Menik-kaḍavara, Ruanwella, and Aṭṭāpiṭiya with *casados*.

Meanwhile Manoel Dias, a captive from the time of the rout of Lopes de Souza, who had become a favourite of Wimaladharmā, came to the Portuguese, fleeing from the king, as he declared, but to spy on his countrymen, as they afterwards believed. The incautious general invited him to return to the king to help in the enterprise. He accordingly returned to the king and either through timidity or by design, he revealed the plot on the very eve of its execution. Thus when the five Portuguese came to Balana to take the oath, Wimaladharmā gave orders to seize them and give the preconcerted signals. Seeing these, the Portuguese troops advanced, but

190. PLOT BETRAYED

Pinhao took alarm, as the king had not sent his deputies, and kept the men back till morning. Three lascarins escaped from Balana and brought word of the miscarriage of the deep-laid plot. After some hostilities Wimaladharmā returned to his capital leaving the Portuguese in peace, who strengthened their position in Denavaka and the Seven Kōralēs by erecting several forts.

CHAPTER X.
**WIMALADHARMA AND SENARAT
 INVITE THE DUTCH.**
 1603--1618

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. KING OF KOTTE
Philip II. | 1598--1621 |
| 2. KINGS OF KANDY
Wimaladharma
Senarat | 1592--1604
1605--1635 |
| 3. KING OF JAFFNA
Pararāsa Sekeran (Sankily) | 1591--1615 |

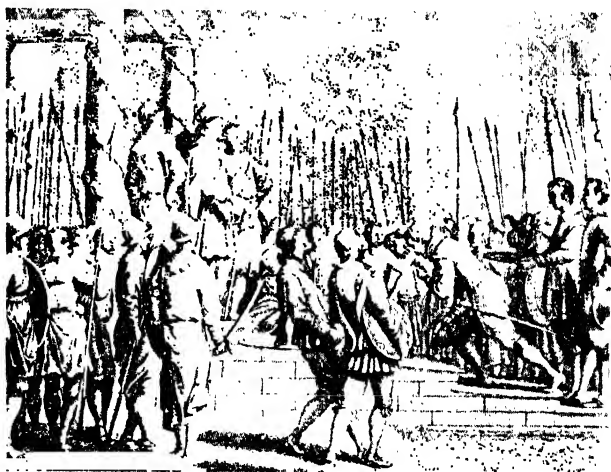
I.

DUTCH VISITS

When Wimaladharma was in his capital contemplating some means for expelling the Portuguese, he was informed, in June 1602, that a Dutch fleet had arrived at Batticaloa and was seeking to communicate with him. He sent Manoel Dias, who was now the mahā mudaliyar, to conduct the newcomers. Accordingly Joris van Spielbergen, who was the admiral of a fleet despatched by Dutch merchants to open trade in the East, came to Senkadagala to present a letter of the Prince of Orange offering the services of the Dutch against the Portuguese. The king was delighted to find that foreign nations were ready to help him against a foe whom neither arms nor the rebellions and desertions he had fostered, could subdue. He, therefore, received Spielbergen with great honour and presented him to the queen, Dona Catherina, who like the king spoke Portuguese fluently and lived and dressed and dined in the Portuguese fashion. In the exuberance of his joy, the king declared that he and his queen and princes would

carry on their heads the material necessary for a fort, if the Dutch would give him aid against the Portuguese. The Dutchman was quite pleased with his reception and delivered to the king some Portuguese vessels he had captured, and sailed away giving the king a Dutch musician for his entertainment.

Scarcely three months after his departure there came another envoy from the Dutch East India Com-



Spilbergen and Wimaladharmā

pany on a similar errand. This was Sebalt de Weert who also was received at Senkadagala with great honour. The king was overjoyed at the eagerness of the Dutch to come to his help, and pressed de Weert to blockade the Portuguese forts by sea while he besieged them on land, undertaking to pay the costs of the expedition in pepper and cinnamon. It was bargained that the Dutch should come speedily with a force to blockade Galle.

News of these dealings of their European enemies with Wimaladharmā was not slow in reaching the Portuguese, and Azevedo decided to nip them in the bud by invading the Uḍarata. He therefore mustered all the lascarins of the subdued territories under Pinhao and Samarakōṇ, and marched with all the Portuguese troops he could command. Passing Aṭṭāpitiya and Ganēṭenna, the army reached the foot of Balana. As it was too perilous to attempt to storm the king's fort, situated like an eyrie on that lofty hill, the army ascended the hillside, erected batteries, and began to batter the fort. Wimaladharmā retired to safety, and the garrison followed suit after setting fire to the encampments. The Portuguese thereupon seized the fort and prepared to march on Senkaḍagala.

But as the general received news of an attack on Talampitiya, he sent Pinhao with his men to its help and was awaiting his return, when one night, quite unexpectedly, all the remaining Sinhalese troops made

193. DESERTION OF LASCARINS

away after the first watch under the leadership of Kangara Ārachchi. The camp was in confusion and dismay at this desertion, but Azevedo acted with great coolness, and despatching messages that very night to Aṭṭāpitiya, Menikkaḍavara, Ruanwella, Sītāwaka, and Colombo, he determined to retreat at dawn. Before sunrise the camp was surrounded by an immense host of foes, beating drums and uttering loud battlecries. The general secured the way to Ganēṭenna, and leaving a small force to keep the enemy in play, abandoned the camp and cut his way through the thick of the enemy.

As they began their retreat, the standards of Pinhao hove in sight. Taking in the situation at a glance,

194. RETREAT

Pinhao exhorted his men to hasten to the help of the army, but the greater part of the lascarins made away, leaving only a few to support Pinhao. These, however, proved of great assistance, as also Samarakōn and his men, and the retreating army made its way to Ganēṭenna. Next morning they set out again, attacked on all sides by foes, and reached Alutnuwara for the night : Attāpitiya was reached on the third day, and at Talampitiya they remained three days. Leaving a garrison and strengthening that fort, Azevedo retreated through the Four Kōralēs, harassed by the enemy in three divisions, of which the first went ahead to block the passes, the second attacked the army on the flank, and the third attacked in the rear, cutting off stragglers. In spite of heavy odds the Portuguese succeeded in making their way to Menikkaḍavara, and after strengthening and fortifying the fort, passed to Ruanwella. The forts of Ruanwella and Sītāwaka were already in the hands of the insurgents, but the retreating army recovered them, rebuilt the fortifications and posted garrisons, and passed through Attanagala, Kanampella, and Gurubēbile to Malwāna where a horrible spectacle awaited them.

Malwāna was the usual residence of the general, and he had left it in charge of his bandigarāla and servants. As soon as Colombo learnt

195. MALWANA

of the pass to which Azevedo was reduced, they sent a party of citizens to protect the general's house and property. But these citizens, accustomed to make light of the Sinhalese, provoked a fight in which they were all badly wounded. The insurgents set fire to the general's house and its valuable fittings and hung up the heads of the citizens on trees to greet the general on his return home. Thither the general returned with a good part of his men, having successfully withstood the labours and fatigues of a retreat through revolted lands.

Rakgahawatta and Negombo were surrounded by insurgents who destroyed the churches and killed the priests, but the garrisons withdrew to Colombo. The Mātara disāwani also rose in the absence of Samarakōn, and the officers fled to Galle, and Mudaliyar Pedro de Abreu Illangakoon was punished for treachery. The garrisons of Aṭṭāpiṭiya, Menikkaḍavara, Talampīṭiya, Kuruwita, Opanāyaka, Valevale, and Kaṭugampola were exposed to great danger, but before attempting to relieve them, Azevedo wished to recover Negombo, as the ringleader of this revolt was a native of those parts. He therefore sent Siman Correa, who drove Kangara Ārachchi away.

Samarakōn also sent his brother-in-law, Mudaliyar Don Manoel, with a part of his men, but Antonio Barreto, an able lascarin in the service of Samarakōn, followed Don Manoel and cut off his head and put himself at the head of another formidable rising. The garrison of Aṭṭāpiṭiya surrendered on terms after a long siege, but were killed. Kuruwita surrendered to Antonio Barreto, who next laid siege to Sītāwaka. The Portuguese sent a relieving party which succeeded in saving the garrison, and proceeded to relieve Ruanwella and Menikkaḍavara. But Wimaladharma, who had surrounded Talampīṭiya and reduced it to great straits, hearing of the Portuguese detachment on the field, abandoned his purpose for a while and fell upon the relieving expedition which however managed to escape. The garrison of Menikkaḍavara surrendered to the king. Returning upon Talampīṭiya, the king forced that garrison also to surrender. Thus by far the greater part of the inland forts fell to the king with a large number of captives.

While Wimaladharma was engaged in these operations, he was informed that Sebalt de Weert had returned

198. RETURN OF DE WEERT

to Batticaloa as vice-admiral of a fleet of six ships, carrying a large Dutch force. No news could be more welcome to the king. The Portuguese had lost men and reputation, their garrisons had surrendered, and the general was reduced to inactivity for lack of forces. This was a most opportune moment to attempt their complete expulsion from the island. Wimaladharma, therefore, immediately sent word to de Weert to blockade Galle by sea, intending to march upon it himself by land. But de Weert was very eager to push trade also and spent some time in Batticaloa; and some Portuguese vessels that happened to pass by surrendered to him on the promise of sparing their lives. Hearing of this, Manoel Dias, the mahā mudaliyar, came to demand the Portuguese and announce the arrival of the king. De Weert at once set the Portuguese at liberty and went to meet the king.

There was an interview between the parties and in the course of a dinner the vice-admiral, being under the influence of liquor, made a coarse remark, whereupon the king, who was already suspicious of de Weert

199. MURDER OF DE WEERT

for setting the Portuguese free, was so enraged that he ordered him to be seized. In the course of the scuffle that ensued, de Weert and fifty of his men were killed. The king wrote to de Weert's successor disclaiming all responsibility for the deaths and expressing his readiness to continue the negotiations, but Jacob Pieterse, who was next in command of the fleet, paid no heed to these protestations and sailed away, this unfortunate tragedy putting an end to the hopes of both parties.

Wimaladharma now realized that he could not expect Dutch assistance in the task of expelling the

Portuguese from Ceylon. He therefore sent ambassadors to Goa, offering to become a vassal of Portugal, and return to the Catholic faith if they would restore to him his son, born to him at Goa, who was being educated there. The viceroy declined the offer.

The king then fixed his quarters at Deraniyagala to be nearer the scene of action, and tried to bring the

**200. SAMARAKON
RALA**

lands under his sway. The Portuguese, who had received some reinforcements, scoured the Hāpitigam and Pitigal Kōralēs, where Siman Correa succeeded in putting Mayādunna to flight and almost captured Antonio Barreto. The Mātara disāwani was attacked by Panikki Mudaliyar, and Samarakōn sent urgent calls for help. The general himself went there and recovered the lands, and proceeded to the Four Kōralēs, carrying fire and sword. Samarakōn fell under suspicion on account of his inactivity and was sent to Goa in chains, but the viceroy who knew of the Mudaliyar's conspicuous loyalty to the Portuguese, not only set him free but rewarded him by making him captain of Goa, the highest post in the Portuguese state after the viceroyalty, with a seat in the high council. Samarakōn never returned to the island, but served the Portuguese in other parts till he died while occupying the very lucrative post of captain of Ormuz. Mudaliyar Don Constantine Navaratna became disāwa of Mātara.

II.

END OF WIMALADHARMA

In May, 1604, Wimaladharma Suriya died at Senkadagala of a virulent fever, leaving a young son and two daughters. He was a remarkable

**201. DEATH OF
WIMALADHARMA**

man and the most successful Ceylonese prince of his age and the founder of a new dynasty of kings in Ceylon. A tall, well-built, man of swarthy complexion and great phy-

sical strength, with a dark bushy beard, Konappu Bāi-dāra, as he was formerly called, was the son of a petty chief of the Uḍarata who fled to the Portuguese when Rajasinha of Sitāwaka put his father to death. (132) He received baptism under the name of Don Juan of Austria, served in the defence of Colombo against Rājasinha, and being banished to Goa for some unknown crime, won a reputation for feats of strength, married a Portuguese orphan by whom he had a son who survived him. Returning to Ceylon as a general in the train of Don Philip, he fought gallantly and ended by doing away with Don Philip, usurping the throne and turning against the Portuguese.

Born and bred in the Uḍarata, but well acquainted with the Portuguese, their manners and language and tactics, he was able to please his

202. CHARACTER subjects and defy the Portuguese.

His great sagacity and experience enabled him to profit by his opportunities. Thus when they attempted to place Dona Catherina on the throne, he acted with such circumspection and address that he not only inflicted a notable disaster on the Portuguese, but even secured the lawful heir to the throne, whom he took to wife in spite of her repugnance and youth. For the next ten years he ruled the land with great firmness and justice to his subjects. He built himself a palace with the labour of the Portuguese prisoners, and surrounded it with bastions in the European fashion. Though he and his queen and children lived and dressed in the Portuguese fashion, he revived old customs, caused the *peraheras*, customary in Kōṭṭe, to be held in Senkadagala, imitating the kings of old in his magnificence and liberality. He repaired ancient temples, destroyed by the godless Rājasinha or by the Portuguese. He procured priests from abroad to restore Buddhist ordinations, installed a *daladā*, and built a *daladā maligāwa*.

His tactics with the Portuguese were characteristic of him and became traditional with his successors. He stirred up sedition and revolts in

203. TACTICS

Portuguese territory, and with the aid of the numerous rebels he provoked the Portuguese to the field and appealed to the Sinhalese troops to forsake them. When this was successful, he relentlessly pursued the crippled army, cutting down stragglers; if it failed and the Portuguese army was small, he inflicted heavy loss : if the day turned against him, he abandoned the field without much ado. This method proved very successful and reduced the Portuguese to impotence. In the last years of his life he looked forward to foreign assistance to expel the Portuguese. Though his impetuosity and suspicions averted the blow from the Portuguese, he had laid the foundations of the policy that was followed by his successors and brought about the end.

III.

SENARAT (1605—1635)

It took the Uḍarata some time to recover from the loss. Wimaladharmā had named his brother Senarat guardian of his son, and he endeavoured to become king by marrying

204. SENERAT

Dona Catherina who was now about twenty five years old. But the vassal princes, Vidiyē Bandāra of Ūva and Mayādunna of Denavaka, also attempted to mount the throne by the same means. For a time Dona Catherina attempted to reign, but Senarat who had the chiefs for him, and had won the Portuguese prisoners to his side, prevailed in the end. Vidiyē Bandāra was killed ; Senarat became king, married the widowed queen ; and Antonio Bafreto became king of Uva. Senarat had been a Buddhist monk and was a man of peace, devoted to letters, a skilled and

cautious general, gifted with great foresight, but no friend of rebels. He took some time to settle the affairs of his kingdom.

Azevedo, profiting by the respite, regained possession of the lost territories. Panikki Mudaliyar who was

**205. AZEVEDO
RECOVERS
TERRITORIES**

giving trouble in Mātara was driven away ; but Kangara Ārachchi and Antonio Barreto held their own against the Portuguese. Azevedo had no forces to take the field. Moreover, the king of Portugal, hearing of Wimaladharma's offers of peace, directed the viceroy to come to terms with him if possible and fortify Colombo and Galle against the machinations of the Dutch. The king had also been informed that the recent desertions and revolts were due to ill-treatment of the people and therefore ordered an inquiry to be held, and despatched a controller of revenue to make a register of lands, as great injustice was said to have been done in the distribution of lands.

Senarat had no mind to provoke hostilities and was only anxious to avert invasions of his kingdom. But

**206. AZEVEDO
BENT ON WAR**

Azevedo, who had set his heart on reducing the Uḍarata to vassalage, continued to plan and prepare fresh invasions, although Wimaladharma, whose treachery and mutilation of Portuguese was the only justification for war, was now dead. He therefore pressed the king of Portugal to order him to be reinforced, complaining that he had not received more than 50 men during the previous years. While awaiting these reinforcements, Azevedo despatched expeditions in different directions to overawe the country. A party was thus sent to the east coast and traversed Bintenna, Welassa, Pānava, Batticaloa, and Uva. In 1609 an expedition was sent to Ūva against Barreto, but the latter avoided a combat and kept close to the heels of the invaders, harassing and cutting off the stragglers.

Senarat soon realized that the pertinacity of the Portuguese would give him no peace and attempted to seek aid from the Dutch. A Dutch ship arrived off Batticaloa and at the king's request sent an envoy to Kandy where a treaty was drawn up.

**207. TREATY
WITH DUTCH**

But Azevedo made a second incursion in 1610, penetrating as far as Mātale. In 1611 some reinforcements arrived, and Azevedo planned an advance on Kandy. Entering by the Four Kōralēs, he reached Balana and fortified it and made his way to Gannōruwā. The king's forces entrenched themselves at Getembe to oppose the march and opened fire. Siman Correa who led the van crossed the river with his men and the Portuguese infantry followed and dispersed the opponents. The king fled with his family and court, and the Portuguese sacked the city, devastated the neighbouring lands, razed the temples, and returned to Balana without giving the people time to rally or attack them. Then leaving a strong garrison at Balana, Azevedo returned to the low-country, having at last satisfied his desire to burn Kandy.

Senarat soon returned to his capital, and mustering his men, laid siege to Balana, but without success. An ambassador was sent to India to urge the Dutch to come to his assistance, but as no help arrived in spite of the treaty, Senarat offered terms of peace. Azevedo knew that his term of office would soon be over and was prepared to come to terms. Friar Gaspar de Madalena acted as an intermediary, and it was agreed that the Uḍarata would pay tribute to Portugal and acknowledge the Portuguese as masters of the realms of Kōṭṭe. The people of the Uḍarata, who had never yielded to the Portuguese, were incensed at this capi-

209. PEACE

tulation and revolted under the leadership of Antonio Barreto, forcing the king to flee his capital.

Meanwhile the king of Portugal had appointed Don Jeronimo de Azevedo viceroy of India. It was now 1542

210. AZEVEDO'S CAREER

years since he became captain-general of Ceylon, and that period was a momentous one, fraught with consequences both to the Portuguese and the Sinhalese. Coming to the island immediately after the rout of Lopes de Souza and smarting under that disgrace and indignant at the mutilation of prisoners, he tried to drive terror into the people by acts of great ferocity. The people on whom he wreaked his vengeance were not those responsible for the mutilations, but they had revolted against the Portuguese, and therefore without any discrimination he waged cruel war on them and succeeded in reducing them to submission. On the death of Dharmapāla he became the representative of the king of Portugal and received royal honours in the island; but that did not change his policy. His dream was to chastize Wimaladharma; but seeing that the incessant rebellions and desertions baulked him and reduced him to desperate straits and that the king was endeavouring to deal with the European enemies of Portugal, he thought that the Portuguese possessions in Ceylon would have no peace until the Sinhalese sovereigns were exterminated and the whole island brought under the sway of his king and master. But the Indian authorities could not supply him with the forces he desired. He therefore neglected the civil duties of his government and devoted himself heart and soul to keep the island in terror, till he received reinforcements enough to subjugate it altogether.

In military skill he was undoubtedly the greatest of the Portuguese generals. His retreat from Balana through the thick of a revolted country, when the Sinhalese troops deserted him, was an achievement unequalled by any general before or after him. He was severe and exacting towards his men, and they attempted to escape the rigours of his discipline by flight and mutinied against him, but he was able to overcome all obstacles. He opened military roads, fortified and dismantled military posts, with feverish energy. If he did not succeed in crushing the rebellions, he at least kept them in check. And his failure was in civil rather than in military government. He failed to protect the people from the tyranny and oppression in civil government and embittered them against him and against the Portuguese. He was the first viceroy who had an intimate knowledge of the country and its needs, and was better able to direct the activities of his successors than any previous viceroy. But he did not occupy that high office long. His opponents and the political upheavals in his homeland led to his disgrace and imprisonment as a political expediency. He was taken prisoner to Lisbon and incarcerated without a trial and died in prison, neglected and destitute.

IV.

THE DUTCH SEEK COMMERCE.

The Dutch authorities in India who had their eyes on the cinnamon of Ceylon, seeing the king's eagerness for their assistance and the great advantages that would accrue to them from the expulsion of the Portuguese from the Island, sent Marcellus de Boc-houwer to negotiate a fresh treaty before giving their help. In 1612 he arrived at Kandy with letters from the states-general of Holland and made a treaty undertaking to help the king when his realms were invaded

211. HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

212. MARCELLUS DE BOCHOUWER

by the Portuguese, in return for a fort at Kottiyār, all assistance for its erection and defence, and all facilities and monopoly of trade. Bochoouer was made a dignitary of the court and remained there awaiting the help promised by his superiors, while his own men left at Kottiyār were slain by the Portuguese. The Dutch authorities, however, were more intent on securing the commerce of Kandy than on helping the king; and Bochoouer had taken himself far more seriously than he was warranted to, and had promised more than the Dutch had decided to give. Thus no troops arrived in spite of Bochoouer's promises.

Meanwhile Senarat did away with the heir to the throne, Mahā Astāna, son of Wimaladharma, to make room for his own son. This incensed Dona Catherina so much that she even contemplated escaping to the Portuguese with her other children, but the negotiations came to nothing, and she sickened and died, a penitent Christian. After her death, Senarat wished to take her daughters to wife. One attempted to escape to the Portuguese, but was captured and brought back and became Senarat's queen like the other.

It was the custom introduced by Azevedo to invade the Uḍarata twice a year in March and September; and Don Francisco de Menezes, who was acting general, made a raid on the Uḍarata and returned unscathed, whereupon Senarat won over to his side the lascarins who were serving in the fort of Balana and besieged it with a force under the command of Bochoouer. Menezes hastened to Balana, relieved the fort, and even retaliated by raiding the neighbouring lands once more. Many charges, however, were made against Menezes which obliged Azevedo to send Manoel Mascarenhas

Homem as general of Ceylon, with orders to purify the administration, reform the soldiery, and remedy the grievances of the people.

V.

HOMEM 1614—1616 AND PEREIRA 1616—1618

Azevedo gave minute directions about war with Senarat. The general was to have his headquarters at Malwāna and make two expeditions to the Uḍarata every year, dealing death and destruction with-

**215. AZEVEDO'S
INSTRUCTIONS**

out mercy: he was to prevent the king from having any commerce through the ports of Batticāloa, Kottiyār, Trincomalie, Jaffna and Columbuturai. He was also to make a monopoly of cinnamon, and keep the people content. Mascarenhas Homem arrived in 1614, appointed Siman Correra disāwa of the Seven Kōralēs, Luis Gómez Pinto of the Four, Luis Cabral Faria of Sabaragamuwa, and Domingos Carvalho Cam of Mātara. In the beginning of 1615 he mustered the lascarins of these four disāwanis, and marching to the Uḍarata through the Balana Kadawata, entered Gampola where the king's forces attempted to block the way. He had begun his march too early in the year, the river was flooded and the banks swarmed with leeches; but making a floating bridge, he made his way to Maturaṭa and Badulla, setting fire to the villages. He burnt the town and returned to Malwāna through Sabaragamuwa.

Senarat who had been expecting aid from the Dutch and had received none, pressed Bochouwer to fulfil his promises, who thereupon went to India to urge for immediate assistance; but as the authorities were not very keen on helping a king who had caused a vice-admiral to be murdered, Bochouwer left for Europe, and being disappointed with the Dutch

**216. BOCHOUWER
IN EUROPE**

East-India Company went to Denmark to solicit aid for Senarat.

Homem meanwhile made another expedition to Tumpane to punish the lascarins who had dealt with the king. (214) They were ruthlessly slain, and the army returned to Malwāna through Hārasiya Pattuwa and Haloluwa. Philip de Oliveyra was appointed dissāwa of the Seven Kōralēs and made a second raid in the same manner, killing and capturing men and cattle.

It was not only in military matters alone that Homem carried out the orders of Azevedo. He reformed the administration of justice without flinching from punishment, when officers seemed to deserve it. He assisted the controller of revenue to register the lands with the aid of Don Jeronimo Alagiyawanna Mukeyeti, the most distinguished Sinhalese poet of the century, who became a Christian and took service under the Portuguese ; and he endeavoured to keep the inhabitants of the low-country in peace and contentment. But after one year and a half of service in Ceylon, he was succeeded by Don Nuno Alvares Pereira.

Pereira received the same orders as Homem and attempted to carry them out with the same fidelity.

219. NUNO ALVARES PEREIRA He sent the two usual expeditions to devastate the Uḍarata. In March, entering through Balana, he succeeded in nipping in the bud an attempt made by certain mudaliyars and ārachchis to desert to the king ; in August he passed through the Weudda Kadawata and returned after a fortnight's unopposed march through Hārasiya Pattuwa. A rebellion was said to be brewing in Sabaragamuwa and the Two Kōrales, but an expedition sent thither encountered no opposition

and employed itself in burning villages. But before the expedition could return to its quarters, there broke out a rebellion which was by far the greatest that the Portuguese had to deal with.

VI.

THE REBELLION OF THE PRETENDER NIKAPITIYA

1617

The son of a pattinihāmy of Raigam Kōralē became a Christian and a servant of the parish priest of Kalutara, but afterwards entered
220. NIKAPITIYA the service of a Portuguese captain and rose to be the vidhāna of the general. This brought him in touch with persons of quality, from whom he learnt stories of the domestic life of the kings of Sītāwaka. He nursed a grievance against the Portuguese, and attaching himself to a party going to Jaffna, he let his hair grow matted, and adopting the dress of a fakir, he went to Anuradhapura and there gave himself out as Nikapitiye Bandāra, ex-king of Sītāwaka. (153) An influential deserter from the army of Simān Correa believed it and spread the tale in the Seven Kōralēs that Nikapitiye Bandāra had escaped from Portugal and had returned to the island to recover his throne. The story gained credence and the people incensed by the ruthless wars of the Portuguese looked forward to this new liberator. One day when Philip de Oliveyra, disāwa of the Seven Kōralēs, was out on an expedition to Sabaragamuwa, the pretender made his appearance and headed a rebellion.

In December 1616 he and his adherents sacked Matiāgama, the headquarters of the disāwa, and killed
221. REBELLION two Jesuit Fathers and destroyed
IN SEVEN the church. Within a week the
KORALES rebellion spread all over the province, and received assistance from Senarat and

Kangara Ārachchi. The general promptly despatched a force which encountered the rebel at Gandolaha and fought an obstinate battle. During the fight the lascarins of the Four Kōralēs deserted to the rebel, and the Portuguese were on the point of being utterly destroyed, when Don Constantine Navaratna, nephew of Don Juan Dharmapāla, rushed to the deserters crying out that he was seven times more a king than the rebel and asking them to follow him. Many of the deserters returned and saved the day. Though the whole country was up in arms, the Portuguese force encamped near the spot, awaiting reinforcements. Philip de Oliveyra, hearing of this formidable rising, hastened from Sabaragamuwa, but learnt on the way that the camp of Menikkaḍavara had been set on fire. His own lascarins were being enticed to join the rebel, but he persisted in marching to the Seven Kōralēs and found on the battle field of Gandolaha a proclamation announcing that the Portuguese were all slain or expelled from the island. Undeterred by this, he proceeded on his way and succeeded in coming upon the Portuguese encampment. The combined forces went about devastating villages and capturing people, when the lascarins of Oliveyra fled to the rebel with their arms.

The general who was at Malwāna, mustered all the forces he could and despatched them to assist the detachment on the field, at the same time deposing Oliveyra for letting the lascarins take away their arms, and appointing Don Constantine Navaratna, disāwa of the Seven Kōralēs.

222. OLIVEYRA DEPOSED

The pretender meanwhile made a triumphal progress through the country, advancing as far as Nākalagama near Colombo. Don

223. REBELLIONS

Constantine marched towards him with all his men, and encountering the rebel, he attacked him so fiercely that the pretender

fled in disguise. Some of the deserters now returned to the disāwa, and he pursued the rebel army into the Seven Kōralēs. Meanwhile Antonio Barreto descended on Sabaragamuwa, captured the Portuguese garrison, and brought the Raigam Kōralē under his sway. The lascarins of the Mātara disāwani also deserted their standards, and the disāwa was obliged to seek refuge in Galle. The Portuguese, thereupon, again took the field, ravaging the country in all directions through the revolted territories in fruitless pursuit of Nikapitiye and Barreto. Finally the pretender retired to Anuradhapura, whither he was pursued by the Portuguese, who forced him to flee, leaving his personal suite in their hands. The Four Kōralēs were reduced to submission and the principal men brought to Malwāna to pay homage to the general. The Seven Kōralēs, thereupon, remained free from further outbreaks.

Senarat was at first inclined to favour the pretender, but the rebel in the exuberance of his first triumph sent a message to Kandy, asking for one of the daughters of Dona Catherina for wife. Senarat was irritated by this impertinence and withdrew his men, and seeing that he was nevertheless making head against the Portuguese, the king decided to join hands with the latter against Nikapitiye, and sent an ambassador to Balana to ask for an intermediary. But the Balana garrison, suspecting fraud, shot down the ambassador. The king, thereupon, sent two Portuguese captives to explain his purpose, but the captives recommended the garrison not to hearken to the king. He therefore came down on Balana with a large force, and the Portuguese seeing that the whole country was up in arms against them, and that there was no hope of relief, capitulated to the king. At last Senarat was able to make his

224. PEACE WITH SENARAT

peaceful purpose understood, and an ambassador was sent to the general to arrange the terms of an alliance against Nikapitiye. It was settled that Senarat would pay an annual tribute of four elephants, rebuild Balana, and receive a Portuguese garrison in his capital, while the Portuguese would recognize his sons by Dona Catharina as kings of Kandy. But before these terms could be signed, Nikapitiye was forced to flee, and Senarat having no reason to fear him, modified his terms. The Portuguese were eager to come to terms, and the king accepted to be a vassal of Portugal and release the Portuguese prisoners, paying a tribute of two elephants. This peace was made in August 1617.

It enabled the Portuguese to pursue Barreto who was now master of the Sabaragamuwa and Mātara disāwanis. An expedition set out in July even before

225. PURSUIT OF PRETENDER

the peace was signed. In spite of the difficulties caused by the rains and floods, they traversed the two Kōralēs, which were deserted by the inhabitants, and placed a garrison in Sabaragamuwa, when they learnt that the lascarins of Hakmana had deserted and that Barreto himself had attacked and defeated the Portuguese there. Before any help could be sent thither, it was reported that Barreto had fallen on Beruwala and was now in the Four Kōralēs. Nikapitiye also returned to Kurunēgala and attacked the Portuguese and called upon the people to support him and Prince Mayādunna. The people, however, were not disposed to assist him any more, and the rebel departed, when the Portuguese marched against him.

CHAPTER XI.

DON CONSTANTINE DE SA DE NORONHA

1618—1630

1. KINGS OF KOTTE	
Philip II.	1598—1621
Phillp III.	1621—1640
2. KING OF KANDY	
Senarat	1605 - 1635
3. KING OF JAFFNA	
Sankily	1615—1618

I.

CONSTANTINE DE SA (FIRST TERM) 1618—1620

Don Nuno Alvares Pereira was succeeded by Don Constantine de Sa de Noronha a man of high birth and nobility of character, who had already distinguished himself in Africa and India. On his arrival he found the country in great disorder. The soldiery, relieved from active service by the peace, had become unruly and violent ; the people were discontented ; the Portuguese officials corrupt and even traitorous ; Barreto and Kangara Ārachchi were still at large, and Mayādunna had made common cause with them. The new general, therefore, very tactfully set about remedying these abuses. He reformed the army and kept it under discipline with tried officers ; he showed favour to the people, curbed the evil practices of the Portuguese officials, kept up friendly relations with Senarat, and prepared to take the field against the rebels.

226. DON CONSTANTINE DE SA

Mayādunna, Kangara Ārachchi, and Barreto made common cause, and breaking with Senarat, brought

**227. SUCCESS OF
REBELS**

the whole of the east coast under their control, and entered Denavaka with a large army to proclaim Mayādunna emperor of Ceylon. The general quickly erected a fort at Sabaragamuwa and marched against the rebels, who thereupon abandoned Denavaka. Sa pursued them and was returning to Sabaragamuwa with many of his men ill, when the rebels in their turn began to harass the retreating army. The general feigned great haste, to bait the assailants, and suddenly turning round fell upon them, inflicting heavy loss. Kangara Ārachchi was captured, while Barreto and Mayādunna fled in despair. The former, who had held out for fifteen years, was publicly executed, and the general gained such renown that this expedition is celebrated in Sinhalese verse in the *Kustantīnu Haṭana* by Don Jeronimo Alagiyawanna Mukaveṭi, whom the general favoured and patronized.

Perarāsa Sekaran, whom the Portuguese set up (149) as tributary king of Jaffna in 1591, remained loyal

**223. ANNEXATION
OF JAFFNA**

to the Portuguese till his death, putting up with the highhandedness of the captains and factors of Mannār and Jaffna whose insolence even the viceroys were unable to check. He allowed Franciscan friars liberty to preach Christianity in his realms and build churches, and he himself, it is said, would have received baptism had he not been prevented by his nephew Sankily.

This king died in 1615 leaving an infant son, whereupon his brother, Arsa Kesari, who was appointed regent continued the policy

**229. SANKILY
REGENT**

of the late king. But Sankily fell upon the regent and slew him and his supporters and

other kinsmen of the late king, and securing the heir, usurped the regency. The captain of Mannār was unable to intervene and satisfied himself with exacting a promise from Sankily to favour Christianity.

But the people, fearing that he would do away with the lawful heir, mutinied against Sankily, who was

230. MUTINY

thereupon assisted by the Portuguese. Sankily attempted to seize the malcontents, but they joined the chief of the Kareas and attacked the palace, forcing Sankily to flee to the Portuguese. They were defeated in battle, and Sankily reigned supreme. He then sought to shake off the Portuguese yoke by assisting the rebels, and now the general was informed that Sankily was dealing with the Dutch and was withholding the annual tribute.

Constantine de Sa, therefore, despatched a force to Jaffna under Philip de Oliveyra to punish the king for his treachery. Oliveyra advanced through Punarim and

231. EXPEDITION TO JAFFNA

reached Kaits, whence he sent to demand the payment of tribute. Sankily attempted to procrastinate, but Oliveyra advanced to Nallūr with his own and the captain of Mannār's troops. A feeble resistance was made at Wannarponnai by the forces of Sankily under the command of the chief of the Kareas, but it was speedily overcome, and Sankily who sought to cross over with all his family to India was captured and sent prisoner to Colombo. Thence he was sent to Goa where he was tried and executed.

The chief of the Kareas again attempted to surprise Oliveyra, but was beaten back. An attempt to

232. JAFFNA BECOMES A PORTUGUESE POSSESSION

install another young prince with the aid of a force of Vadagārs also failed, and a third time they besieged Oliveyra and his camp. The general hastily sent reinforcements with which

Oliveyra reduced the country. The general appointed him governor and captain-major of Jaffna, which was thus added to the Portuguese possessions in Ceylon.

Meanwhile the general sent Don Constantine Navaratne to pursue Mayādunna and he himself set out for the Seven Kōralēs. Mayādunna abandoned the lands and fled before the mudaliyar, while the Seven Kōralēs were reduced by the general. De Sa now thought of making the island secure against the Dutch, whose dealings with Senarat were not unknown to the Portuguese. At Galle he erected a fort to guard the harbour, separating the tongue of land on the northern side of the harbour which formed the Portuguese town, and protecting it by a wall from sea to sea. While engaged in these operations he learnt that a Danish fleet had arrived at Trincomalie on the invitation of Senarat in violation of the peace.

Marcellus de Bochouwer, who went to Holland to obtain Dutch help for Senarat, (212) failed to move the authorities, but succeeded in persuading the Danes to fit out a fleet to help the king of Kandy against the Portuguese in return for the monopoly of the Ceylon trade and payment of costs, which Bochouwer declared he was authorized to promise. A fleet of five ships under the command of Ove Giedde, bringing troops and merchandise, arrived at Kottiyār in May, 1620. Unfortunately for the negotiations, Bo-chouwer died on the voyage, and Giedde had to transact the business with the king. At the time of his arrival, Senarat had made peace with the Portuguese and was not in great need of the proffered help.

He was now anxious to bring up his children in peace and had even procured Franciscan friars as tutors. Mayādunna came to Koṭṭiyār, hotly pursued by the Portuguese who had slain Barreto, and asked for protection. Giedde gave him shelter. A mudaliyar sent by Senarat then arrived to declare that the king was unable to pay the costs of the expedition, as Giedde demanded, and that Bochoouer had no authority to bind the king to such terms. Giedde thereupon went to Kandy and received the same repudiation from the king's lips. Senarat said he was willing to accept the services of the Danes, if they would undertake to expel the Portuguese and be satisfied with the possession of the two harbours to be captured by them. This did not satisfy the Danes, and a new treaty was made by which the king granted Trincomalie and the monopoly of trade. The admiral then left some ships to build a fort and set sail for India.

Thus within two years of his arrival, Constantine de Sa raised the power of the Portuguese in Ceylon to

235. a height it had never before attained. The valuable kingdom of
ACHIEVEMENTS
OF SA

Jaffna was added to their possessions in the island. Kangara and Barreto, who had defied them so long, were slain; Mayādunna was reduced to straits; and Senarat was intimidated from accepting the aid that was brought to his very door. But in spite of such valuable services, the general was recalled to Goa to make room for the son of the governor of India, for when the viceroy died, the letters of succession were found to nominate as acting governor of India the father of the man who was serving as captain of Colombo. By a flagrant piece of jobbery, this captain of Colombo, Jorge de Albuquerque, was made captain-general of Ceylon.

II.

JORGE DE ALBUQUERQUE, 1620—1623

As soon as Sa was out of the island, Mayādunna returned and Mudaliyar Naidappu, who had become a Christian under the name of **236. JORGE DE ALBUQUERQUE** Manoel Mascarenhas Homem and was now in charge of the frontiers, tried to assist him. Albuquerque, hearing of this, arrested the man and after holding an inquiry sent him to Goa; but he fell ill and died on the voyage. No other revolts took place during Albuquerque's term of office, as the people were worn out by the long protracted wars. The Portuguese soldiers who were encamped in their headquarters at Menikkaḍavara, being now free from field service, broke out in mutiny against their captain-major and demanded their arrears of pay, and could not be quelled before their complaints were satisfied. Albuquerque was, moreover, a harsh man whose highhanded ways greatly incensed the people who even plotted his death and would have carried it out but for the priests. The only useful work credited to him is the erection of the fort of Kalutara on an eminence commanding the river.

The Portuguese in Ceylon were now very anxious to secure the return of de Sa and sent many complaints and charges against Albuquerque to the new viceroy. **237. RETURN OF SA** Moreover, King Philip of Portugal was displeased with the way in which Constantine de Sa was removed from office, and sent orders to reappoint him general of Ceylon. Albuquerque was accordingly arrested and removed to Goa, and Sa was sent back.

III.

CONSTANTINE DE SA, (SECOND TERM) 1623—1630

Constantine de Sa was welcomed with joy by both the Sinhalese and the Portuguese, but he found the island far different from what he had left it. Albuquerque's mal-administration had embittered the people, his weakness had emboldened Mayādunna and Senarat. In spite of these drawbacks, the general was ordered to fortify Batticaloa and Trincomalie to prevent them falling into the hands of other European nations and to carry out the conquest of the Kandyan kingdom, as the king showed signs of inviting foreign aid. Sa, however, now reported to the viceroy that the Sinhalese kingdom could not be conquered without much larger forces than he had, but that a fort might be erected at Trincomalie under cover of the peace without breaking out into war with Senarat. This was approved, and Sa informed Senarat that he was fortifying Trincomalie against the European enemies who had their eye on it, and marched thither with all his forces. He destroyed the renowned Hindu temple and on its site erected a triangular fort of stone, and supplied it with artillery and garrison. Senarat was not able to prevent the work, but he felt that the Portuguese were bent on cutting him off from dealings with foreigners.

Since 1617 Senarat had been living in peace with the Portuguese. He had allowed the friars to come to his realms and build churches; he had even entrusted the education of his three sons to the Franciscans and had not been actively concerned in hostilities; but when he saw the triumphs of Constantine de Sa's first term, his success in crushing the rebels and gaining

**238. TRINCOMALIE
FORTIFIED****239. SENARAT'S
ALARM**

the goodwill of the people living within the Portuguese territories, the king was naturally uneasy. And now he found the general closing to him the harbour of Trincomalie where the products of the kingdom were exchanged for cloth, opium, and other things, and he felt that the move foreboded no good to him.

He could not well complain of the violation of the peace, because he could not deny that he had already

**240. HIS
OPPORTUNITY**

violated it himself by dealing with the Danes for, though he repudiated the treaty made in his name by Bochouwer, he had himself made another with the Dutch setting the peace at naught. However, as he still had Koṭṭiyār, Pānawa, and Batticaloa, he disguised his resentment and awaited an opportunity for retaliation. Hitherto he had been unable to embark on a war, as his children were still young. But now they were grown up young men, two of them already married, for in spite of all the attempts of Oliveyra, he succeeded in procuring as brides for his elder sons the two daughters of the king of Jaffna, who had been removed to Tanjore during the disturbances.

The general, knowing the resentment of the Sinhalese king, endeavoured to gain the hearts of the people of the lowlands. He treated them

**241. SA'S
POLICY**

with great kindness and confidence, promoting them to posts of responsibility and trust. He placed the Sinhalese people on the same level as the Portuguese by granting them villages on the same terms, and procuring more equity in the distribution of lands. By purifying the administration he was able to find means to fortify the island better. The fortification of Galle was resumed and completed; a fort was built at Kalpiṭiya; the city of Colombo was strengthened by fresh fortifications. But

the comptroller of revenue did not approve of Sa's reforms and asked to be replaced by another. As it was necessary for the two highest authorities to work in harmony, Sa applied to perform the task of comptroller himself.

The king of Portugal had ordered him to expel the Muslims from Ceylon, as they were a great hindrance to the propagation of Christianity and a danger to the power of the Portuguese. Many Muslims had settled in Ceylon. There were whole villages of them in the Sabaragamuwa and Mātara disāwanis, in the districts of Kalutara and Alutgama and in Beruwala. They had even been promoted to posts of responsibility in defiance of the decrees of the Council of Goa, and were wielding great influence in the country. Sa therefore decided to carry out the orders and expel the Muslims from Portuguese territory. Many of the expelled Muslims went to the Sinhalese kingdom and Senarat, who was only too glad to have enemies of the Portuguese in his realms, settled four thousand of them in Batticaloa.

This was the most important of the ports still left to him. It was the chief entrance to the kingdom from abroad; the Portuguese who came to aid Jayawira landed there; thither also came the first vessels of the Dutch. The king of Portugal had therefore sent frequent orders to fortify it, and Senarat's motive in planting a colony of Muslims there was patent to the general, just as the general's intention to seize it was well known to the king. It was indeed quite obvious that the general was coolly preparing to hem the king within his mountain kingdom without access to foreigners in order to have him at his mercy. He

242. EXPULSION OF MUSLIMS

243. BATTICALOA

therefore resorted to the only weapon still left to him and tried to corrupt the mudaliyars of Colombo.

An opportunity for such dealings came to him in an unexpected manner. An Indian resident in Ceylon had taken it into his head to imitate Nikapitiya (220) and pretend to be the heir to Sitawaka. He wrote to the king of Kandy that he was the son of Râjasinha and was now in Colombo in disguise, plying the trade of a sword-smith, and begged the king's assistance to recover the throne of his father. The king knew that the claim was false, but pretended to believe the tale and sent him a gift of arcanuts and sapan and recommended him to consult the mudaliyars of Colombo, and he himself wrote to the mudaliyars to bespeak their sympathy. Thus began a correspondence between the king and some of Sa's most trusted Sinhalese officers, in the course of which the pretender was forgotten and a deep-laid plot was formed to betray the general and his army to the king of Kandy.

Meanwhile the general had come to the conclusion that war with Senarat was inevitable, if the Portuguese were to remain masters of the low-country. He had been instructed to carry out the conquest of Kandy, but he saw that the conquest could not be effected by mere raids and by burning and destroying towns and villages as his predecessors had done hitherto. It was necessary to reduce the country for good and all and keep it under subjection, which required a greater force of Portuguese troops than he had. He therefore urged for troops. But Portugal had now begun its decline. The king of Spain, who had inherited the crown of Portugal also, was using

**244. PLOT
AGAINST SA**

**245. BATTICALOA
FORTIFIED**

the colonial empire of Portugal to further the interests of Spain. There were no troops to be sent, and orders came to Sa to fortify Batticaloa and maintain peace with the king. This could not well be done, for the attempt to fortify Batticaloa would provoke war. The general, therefore, reported that he must first fortify the frontiers, and proposed to strengthen Malwāna and Menikkaḍavara before erecting a fort in Batticaloa. This was approved, but the measure needed money which the comptroller of revenue refused. Sa had in consequence to forgo his salary to obtain funds for the fortifications. These were soon put in a state of defence, and Sa proceeded to Batticaloa with all his forces, and erected a fort on the island of Puliantivu in the lagoon, which gives its name to the town, for Batticaloa is a Portuguese corruption of *mada-kalapuwa* 'the miry lagoon'.

Senarat tried to oppose the march, but seeing that the general's force was too large for him to contend with, he desisted from the purpose and offered Sa a bribe, and when that had no effect, he pressed the mudaliyars of Colombo to hasten their action. These mudaliyars were men who had risen to prominence through the favour of the Portuguese. They were now men of wealth, of high position, and great influence with the Portuguese as with their own countrymen. Two were members of the general's staff, all Christians, trusted confidants of the general, allied to the Portuguese by intermarriage and placed in command of the lascarins. Some Portuguese who had an inkling of the plot warned Sa, but he would not believe it, thinking it was a trick of Senarat to make him mistrust the Sinhalese officers. Under cover of this implicit confidence the conspirators matured their plan.

246. MUDALIYARS OF COLOMBO

The general soon undertook the duties of controller of revenue also and found means to pay the soldiers regularly and to prepare for war when hostilities broke out in 1627. To give the mudaliyars an opportunity of carrying out their plot, the king delivered an attack on the frontiers bordering on Ūva. The general himself led an expedition to Ūva and returned through the Uḍarata without meeting with opposition, and the mudaliyars did not find it feasible to betray him. Sa then undertook a tour through his territories, visiting Mātara, Batticaloa, Trincomalie, and passing to Jaffna to settle the administration of that province, placed Trincomalie and Batticaloa under the jurisdiction of the captain-major of Jaffna. Still the conspirators had no opportunity to carry out their treachery, and Senarat, therefore, offered terms. Sa returned an evasive answer and awaited reinforcements.

In 1628 Senarat sent an expedition to Jaffna to seize that kingdom for his sons who claimed it by right of marriage with the two daughters of the legitimate king. This expedition was led by the atapattu mudaliyar of Kandy supported by a Vadagār force sent by the rāja of Tanjore. They entered the peninsula, destroyed the churches, killed two Jesuit priests and marched upon the town of Jaffna. On hearing of this, Sa advanced on Kandy, and as the king fled to Medamahanuwara, he despatched a division to Jaffna under Domingos Carvalho Cam. Dividing his force into two, Cam attacked the atapattu mudaliyar from two sides and captured him and put his men to the sword. He then scoured the country unopposed and obliged the prominent men to take an oath of

**247. SA RAIDS
KANDY**

**248. SENARAT
ATTACKS
JAFFNA**

allegiance to the king of Portugal and returned to Colombo.

In 1629 Sa again entered the Uḍarata, but the rains intervened and caused considerable trouble: and though neither the king nor his troops disclosed themselves on the field, many ambushes were laid against the general, and after fighting a skirmish at Ambaṭṭenne, he was obliged to retreat to Malwāna where he lay so grievously ill that his life was despaired of. He, therefore, made a will recommending his successor to make peace with the king but to be prepared for war. However he recovered.

**249. SA INVADES
KANDY**

During his convalescence the conspirators matured their plot and sent word to the king to make a descent on Ūva. Kumārasingha, the king's eldest son, prince of Ūva, thereupon came down on Sabaragamuwa and with the help of a rebel mudaliyar, named Abayasingha, ravaged the frontiers and retired to Badulla. The conspirators then urged the general to take the field. Some members of the council, who had observed that the Sinhalese were growing in their hatred of foreign domination, warned the general against the danger of risking a battle with the scanty forces he had; but others urged him to chastise the prince for his effrontery. The general, who had to retreat from Kandy the previous year, hesitated to act, when a new viceroy of India, who had given a ready ear to Sa's adversaries, sent him a harsh letter reproaching him with being more interested in trade than in the affairs of his king. Stung by this undeserved rebuke, Sa decided, against his better judgment, to take the field.

**250. PROGRESS
OF PLOT**

He mustered the lascarins under the command of the mudaliyars, enlisted all the Portuguese he could, about 700 in all, and leaving small garrisons at Menikkaḍavara, Malwāna, and Sabaragamuwa, he set out on his ill-fated expedition on 2nd August, 1630. In fifteen days he reached Idalgashinna and came in sight of Badulla on the 20th of the month. Senarat was in the neighbourhood with all the forces of his realms, led by himself and his three sons, but retired after a feint of resistance and let the army enter Badulla. The Portuguese sacked and burnt the city and razed the temples, taking their quarters at Mutiangane Vihāra. Two days were given to rest, during which the conspirators arranged the manner of the betrayal. A letter of the king to one of the mudaliyars was intercepted, but the mohotṭiar or interpreter succeeded in concealing the truth. But the news quickly spread among the king's men that the Portuguese army was sold and had only one day more to live. An ārachchi who had fallen out with the mudaliyars gave information to an official and the general ended by realizing his mistake.

A council was hastily summoned to decide what was the best course under the circumstances. The details of the conspiracy were not known; it was only known that the mudaliyars were plotting to desert with their men. It was therefore considered wise to retreat at once, and to try, if possible, to avert the desertions by redressing the only grievance of the mudaliyars that was known. This was that the new comptroller of revenue had deprived them of the post of vidhāna which they held along with the lands granted with the post; and the council recommended that they should be reinstated. The general summoned

251. EXPEDITION TO UVA

252. PLOT DISCOVERED

them and handed them the acts of appointment and announced his intention to retreat.

Next morning the retreating army crossed the river in three divisions within sight of the enemy.

253. RETREAT Immediately Mudaliyar Don Cosme Kulatunga, who was in the rear-guard killed a Portuguese, and sticking up his head on a spear passed over to the enemy with Mudaliyar Don Aleixo and the lascarins under his command ; three others, Don Siman, Don Theodosio, and Don Balthezar did the same with five hundred lascarins each. This put the Portuguese ranks in confusion, but forming up quickly into one body, they began to cut their way through the enemy the whole day. By night they reached a bare hill where they halted, though unable to shelter themselves from the assailants. Each man provided himself with rations for three days and they burnt all the rest of the baggage and provisions, and early next morning began the second day of retreat, pursued by the king's men in three divisions. A fourth division had gone ahead to obstruct the way with felled trees and was awaiting them at a difficult pass.

There a severe battle was fought, and getting clear of their pursuers, the Portuguese reached the slope of a hill at Wellawayā on the borders of Ūva. A force of lascarins of Mātara and the Seven Kōralēs, who were still with the Portuguese, were attacked furiously and ended by going over to the assailants. The Portuguese then fought desperately, but a heavy shower of rain came on, drenching the munitions and flooding the rivulet which lay between the main-body and the advance guard, which being thus cut off, were killed or captured before they could

be relieved. Seeing the pass to which they were reduced, the rest of the lascarins made away.

Next morning, the 25th of August, the general was summoned to surrender, but declined and decided to fight to the last. The battle

255. ROUT

raged from 6 in the morning to 2 in the afternoon, by which time, when 350 were already killed and more than a 100 captured, the captain-general stricken by an arrow fell, and a crowd of assailants rushed to cut off his head. While defending him from the onslaught, a Portuguese soldier accidentally shot him dead. The rest were soon killed or taken prisoner, and the rout of the Portuguese was complete.

Senarat was not present at this action, and his three sons, instead of marching on Colombo, where Mudaliyar Don Manoel had re-

256. PRISONERS

mained for the express purpose of delivering the city, spent three days on the field of battle. The prisoners were sent to Kandy under escort, and the princes marched to Sabaragamuwa, spending ten days on the journey. After another week they arrived before Colombo, having given that city twenty six days to prepare for the siege. Sa had sent a message to Colombo on the eventful day, and the acting general, Lancarote de Seixas, seized Don Manoel and a few others that tried to raze the city, and recalling the garrisons of Malwāna and Kalutara, prepared for the siege.

CHAPTER XII.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH

1630—1645

1. **KINGS OF KOTTE**

Philip III.

1621—1640

John IV.

1640—1656

2. **KINGS OF KANDY**

Senarat

1605—1635

Rajasinha

1635—1687

1.

THE PORTUGUESE IN DIFFICULTIES

Senarat issued a proclamation inviting the whole of Ceylon to the sack of Colombo, promising four fifths of the spoil, and the whole island accordingly rose against the Portuguese and beset the city on all sides, occupying the suburbs. But in spite of several assaults, it held out for two months, and when reinforcements arrived from India, the king raised the siege. The beleaguered sallied out, and encountering the king's forces, dislodged them from Nākalagama on 11th November.

Don Philip Mascarenhas, captain of Cochin, who had hastened to relieve Colombo, was elected captain-general and was subsequently confirmed in the post by the viceroy. In his time Senarat tried to persuade the lascarins to betray the city, but the plot was disclosed by Ekanāyaka, mudaliyar of Mātara. Senarat thereupon returned to Kandy and forced the fort of Menikkaḍavara to surrender. His son,

257. **SIEGE OF COLOMBO**

258. **DON PHILIP MASCARENHAS**

Rājasinha, who still held Biagama, Kaḍuwala, and Malwāna, tried to deliver a surprise attack on Colombo, but failed. The Portuguese attacked his men at Panadura, and his attempt on the fort of Batticaloa was frustrated.

In October 1631, Don Jorge de Almeida arrived as captain-general and in the beginning of the next year he advanced against Rājasinha, and capturing Biagama and Kaḍuwala, made for Malwāna where the prince was. The latter abandoned Malwāna and tried conclusions at Alauwa and Matiāgama without success. But Don Theodosio, one of the chief conspirators, (253) now quarrelled with the princes and returned to the Portuguese, upon which the king decided to make peace.

Almeida sent an ambassador with orders to demand as a preliminary to peace, that the Portuguese prisoners should be removed from Badulla. This was accordingly done, and on instructions from the viceroy, he called upon the king to become a vassal of Portugal and pay a larger tribute than in 1617 (224) if he wished for peace with the Portuguese. Senarat declined to pay any tribute, and offered to send ambassadors to Goa to discuss the terms. A truce was signed, and Jayasundera Disāwa and Kuruppu Rāla went to Goa with two Portuguese prisoners to settle the terms of peace. The viceroy insisted on a tribute and the retention of Batticaloa, to which the ambassadors agreed after much hesitation. But by the time they returned, Don Theodosio had been arrested by the Portuguese and the king, having nothing to fear from that quarter, declined to stand by the terms arranged by his ambassadors.

**259. DON JORGE
DE ALMEIDA**

260. TRUCE

Don Jorge de Almeida meanwhile became very unpopular, and on representations made by the people, **261. DIOGO DE** he was recalled and Diogo de **MELLO DE** Mello de Castro was sent in 1633 **CASTRO, 1633-1635** as captain-general. As Senarat had repudiated the treaty accepted by his ambassadors, the new general decided to make a demonstration of hostilities and marched on Kandy. The king fortified himself at Ganēṭenne, but being averse to war, sent a message to the general stating that his ambassadors had agreed to a tribute without his consent and that he was willing to make peace if they were ready to forego the tribute.

The general declined to listen to the proposal and marched from Menikkaḍavara to Aṭṭāpiṭiya whither the king had come with all his **262. PEACE** forces. Senarat was tired of war, and seeing that the Portuguese were inexorable in the matter of tribute, he agreed to the terms arranged at Goa, namely to pay tribute, to restore the lands he had seized, to liberate the prisoners and to let Batticaloa remain in the hands of the Portuguese. Thus the two parties returned to the state of affairs that existed before the rout of Sa.

The charges against Almeida were inquired into at Goa and held to be untrue, and it was thought necessary for his reputation to send him back to Ceylon. He **263. DON JORGE** was accordingly reinstated to the **DE ALMEIDA** great chagrin of the people, and **SECOND TERM,** **1636-1636** Mello was recalled to Goa. But though Almeida was a good engineer and designed the bastion of Mapane, one of the strongest in Colombo, he was a hasty and tactless man and again provoked opposition. The soldiers mutinied against the captain-major appointed

by him and marched on Colombo, whereupon Almeida was obliged to give in. The king of Portugal, moreover, informed of these unruly happenings in Colombo, ordered the viceroy to send back Diogo de Mello de Castro.

The general found that King Senarat, with whom he had made peace, had died in 1635, and that his youngest son, Rājasinha Mahā Astana, who had been administering the government even in the lifetime of the father, was now ruling at Kandy. Rājasinha was a brave and ambitious prince whom his father favoured above the two elder sons. All three had been educated by Franciscan friars who taught them the accomplishments of European princes of the age. The youngest showed more character and ability, and the father, unwilling to give room for dissension after his death, partitioned the kingdom between the three sons in his lifetime. It is said that he divided the kingdom into 3 principalities; Kandy, Ūva, and Mātalē, and made the sons draw lots, making sure however that Kandy should fall to the youngest. By this means he made Rājasinha king of Kandy, the eldest Kumārasingha king of Ūva, and Vijayapala king of Mātalē. They were to come into the full possession of their kingdoms only after the father's death and meantime were known as the Princes of Kandy, Ūva, and Mātale. Kumārasingha was not satisfied with this settlement and attempted to seek Portuguese aid to assert his rights as the first born, but being an inconstant and weak prince, he could not carry out his plan. On his death, Rājasinha annexed Ūva to the great displeasure of Vijayapāla, who was very friendly to the Portuguese, and subsequently went over to them and even intrigued with the Dutch.

**264. SENARAT
AND HIS SONS**

Rājasinha could read, write, and speak Portuguese and was quite conversant with the views and ways of that nation. He favoured Christi-

265. RAJASINHA anity and permitted monks and priests to live and build churches in his domains, and one of these he now despatched to Portugal to negotiate with the king a firm peace independent of the caprice of generals. The friar returned to Kandy to inform the king that the viceroy would not let him go to Lisbon. Foiled in his attempt to protect his kingdom from the frequent and devastating invasions, he now decided to seek foreign help, as he realized that his predecessors' policy of fomenting rebellions and causing desertions, did not free the country from attacks. These might give a temporary advantage by crippling the Portuguese, but led to no definite results, as experience proved. He therefore turned to the Dutch. His object was not to exchange one foreigner for another, but knowing that the Dutch East-India Company was very eager to secure the monopoly of trade and did not appear to be bent on invasion or conquest, he hoped that by offering them the monopoly of cinnamon and a fort in the island he could induce them to rid him of the Portuguese.

With this object therefore he wrote in 1636 to the governor of Paliakat asking for assistance, offering

**266. SEEKS
DUTCH AID** them a fort at Koṭṭiyār or Batticaloa and binding himself to pay the expenses of the fleet. This request was communicated to Anthony van Dieman, director of the Company at Batavia, who immediately accepted it. Unlike the Portuguese who were touchy in their national feelings and would even court disaster to avenge an affront, real or imaginary, the Dutch were cool, calculating merchants, little given to sentiment.

They knew that many European nations were bidding for the Eastern trade, and the opportunity of wresting the cinnamon of Ceylon from the Portuguese made them forget the murder of Sebalt de Weert. (199) The director therefore sent an order to Adam Westerwold who was blockading Goa, to come to Ceylon and settle the terms of a treaty. Rājasinha being informed of this, sent ambassadors to Westerwold inviting him to come and capture Batticaloa for a beginning. Westerwold therefore sent Willem Jacobsz Coster with four ships for the purpose.

Diogo de Mello was not long in coming to hear of these dealings of Rājasinha with their enemies, and

**267. EXPEDITION
TO KANDY**

when a fleet of Malacca brought some troops to Colombo, he seized the opportunity to make an expedition to intimidate Rājasinha and demand the payment of tribute. The general's council was opposed to the expedition, but Mello, who, it is said had a private grudge to pay, was intent on the foolhardy venture and was seconded by his captain-major. Rājasinha came to know of this resolution, and though he was a man of a great bravery, he was unprepared for resistance and tried to avert the humiliation by sending the Franciscan friar of Kandy to remonstrate on this violation of a sworn peace. The general thought this was a sign of fear and was the more emboldened and mustered his forces and set out for Menikkaḍavara. Rājasinha was eager to avert an invasion at all costs, and sent another embassy to the general and the Chamber of Colombo but without avail. A third remonstrance made by an Augustinian friar sent from Kandy had no better result, and Mello set out on the march by Aṭṭāpiṭiya and the Balana Kadawata and entered the kingdom unopposed. The king quitted the

city and the Portuguese set fire to the palace, and knowing that it was perilous to delay long, wished to retreat to Balana.

But the way was obstructed and they were benighted at Gannōruwa. There the Portuguese were surrounded on all sides by the
268. PORTUGUESE ARMY ROUTED might of Kandy and next morning, Palm Sunday, 28th March, 1638, the army was cut down and annihilated while struggling to get free.

Forthwith the whole island rose in arms. The scanty garrisons of Menikkaḍavara and Malwāna retired on Colombo. Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, who hastened from San Thome to the rescue of Colombo, was elected to conduct the defence. Rājasinha who was unprepared to profit by the triumph did not besiege Colombo, though his men seized the lowlands.

Don Antonio Mascarenhas soon arrived as general and took the field, but was obliged to retire. Making a
270. DON ANTONIO MASCARENHAS 1638-1640 second attempt to recover the lands, he attacked Malwāna, but was defeated by Don Aleixo (253) who held it for Rājasinha. But another detachment captured Nawagamuwa, Menikkaḍavara, Aṭṭāpiṭiya and Embalawa, destroying whole villages without sparing sex or age, and encamped at Alauwa.

II.

ARRIVAL OF THE DUTCH

Meanwhile Coster landed at Kalamunai and heard of the great triumph of Rājasinha at Gannōruwa. The plight to which the Portuguese were now reduced showed the Dutchman that they had come in most opportunely, and proceeding to Batticaloa, he laid siege to the fort. To keep the Portuguese in play while the fort was being assailed, Rājasinha sent a force

271. LANDING OF THE DUTCH

against Menikkaḍavara, which the Portuguese there-upon promptly abandoned along with all the other inland strongholds to bring all the available forces to the coast.

Westerwold then arrived with five more ships, and the fort of Batticaloa was bombarded. Rājasinha appeared in the vicinity and received a visit from the Dutch. And on the 18th of April the fort of Batticaloa, which was the cause of all the upheavals of the last ten years, capitulated to the Dutch, and the Portuguese garrison was conveyed to Negapatam.

Rājasinha* was delighted with the success of his negotiations and met Westerwold to discuss the terms of the alliance. It was agreed to give the Dutch Company the monopoly of the Ceylon trade in return for assisting the king with men and munition to be duly paid for. One of the articles of the treaty stated that all the forts captured from the Portuguese should be garrisoned by the Dutch, *if the king so desired* and repaired at the king's expense. The important conditional clause was only in the king's copy of the treaty, not in the Dutch one. The omission was probably due to the negligence of an interpreter or copyist; the supposition that it was a deliberate trick is discountenanced by the fact that the Dutch did not garrison any fort on the strength of this article nor appeal to it for justification. Anyhow it was soon destined to set the allies by their ears.

Batticaloa was garrisoned by a Dutch force under the command of Coster, and Westerwold left for Batavia to submit the treaty to the confirmation of the directors of the Company. The Dutch had been led to expect large cargoes of cinnamon, wax, and

272. CAPTURE OF BATTICALOA

273. TREATY WITH WESTERWOLD

274. BATTICALOA GARRISONED BY THE DUTCH

pepper, but none were forthcoming. The people around Batticaloa were forbidden to come to the fort without the king's licence, and the Dutch had reason to think that the king was keeping the spices hidden. Coster, therefore, went to meet the king and received a provision of supplies and a written permission to trade.

On the departure of the Dutch fleet, the Portuguese reoccupied Malwāna, and hearing that the king was at Ruanwella, they made for it, upon which Rājasinha withdrew. They then established themselves at Alauwa and Menikkaḍavara.

The authorities in Batavia confirmed the treaty and took in hand the reduction of the Portuguese forts of Ceylon. A fleet of twelve ships was equipped and set sail under Anthony Caen. Rājasinha pressed his allies to blockade Colombo and attack it by sea, while he beset it by land. The Dutch would much rather have begun with Galle, which was more convenient for them and easier to storm; but in deference to the king's wishes, Caen anchored off Colombo and sent a message to the king to second their attack from land.

But as Rājasinha was forced to abandon Ruanwella and the Portuguese held Alauwa and Menikkaḍavara, he could not keep his word; the fleet proceeded to the east coast, and arriving at Koṭṭiyār, prepared to storm Trincomalie, which was soon battered till the Portuguese capitulated after a vain resistance, on 2nd May, 1639, before a relieving force could come to its aid. The force which Rājasinha promised arrived only after the capture of the fort, giving the Dutch the suspicion that they had been waiting till the fighting was over. These troops being unprepared to garrison

**275. PORTUGUESE
RECOVER
LANDS**

**276. DUTCH
POLICY**

**277. CAPTURE OF
TRINCOMALIE**

the fort, the Dutch placed troops and set sail for Batavia with some ambassadors of Rājāsinha.

Both Batticaloa and Trincomalie were thus captured by the Dutch without any aid from Rājāsinha, and

**278. DISPLEASURE
OF RAJASINHA**

both were garrisoned by them. This did not please the king, who showed his displeasure in a way that made the Dutch suspect his good faith. But once embarked on operations in Ceylon, the Company had no mind to abandon the enterprise of wresting the cinnamon trade from the Portuguese. They would have liked to make the next attempt on Galle, but as Rājāsinha was so earnest that it should be directed on Colombo, a Dutch fleet under Philip Lucasz set out with a large force and arrived at Trincomalie to find that fort in great straits. The king had not only failed to supply provisions to the garrison, but had even forbidden his subjects to do so. Lucasz was, however, unwilling to quarrel with the king before they had a sure footing in the island; and sent a force of 200 men to the king to make sure of his coming to assist them by land, and appeared off Colombo after reconnoitring Galle. But though they remained 8 days in the offing, there was no sign of their ally, who was unable to come to their aid, as the Portuguese were at Arrandara.

The fleet therefore made towards Negombo, and the Portuguese hurriedly despatched several companies to

**279. FATAL
BATTLE**

defend that fort. The Dutch came to anchor at Kammala and the Portuguese occupied the two banks of the Mahā Ōya, but Lucasz hearing that some of the Portuguese forces had been sent on a punitive expedition, profited by the opportunity to land his men and entrench himself. The Portuguese then, realizing their mistake, sent for the force that was posted at Arrandara

to cut off Rājasinha from joining his allies. Making a forced march from Arrandara, the inconsiderate commander, without even giving his men a rest, tried to dislodge the Dutch from their entrenchments and was beaten back with heavy loss. Rājasinha's force was now free to descend ; he came down to Kammala ; the 200 Dutchmen joined their countrymen on 29th January, 1640, and advanced on Negombo.

The fort of Negombo was a weak irregular construction unworthy of the name of a fort. Three

280. CAPTURE OF NEGOMBO

batteries bombarded it incessantly for three days, when the captain received orders from the general to remove the garrison and blow up the works. But before this order could be carried out, the Dutch stormed the fort mastering it with the utmost ease, and the remnants of the Portuguese army retreated to Colombo which was now endangered. Lucasz repaired and garrisoned Negombo to the great displeasure of Rājasinha who demanded that it should be razed.

Negombo was a cinnamon producing district, and to raze the fort after all the trouble of capturing it was

281. IMPORTANCE OF NEGOMBO

to restore the district to the Portuguese. Lucasz, therefore would not accede to Rājasinha's request, and the latter retired in high dudgeon. The Dutch sent a hasty message to Trincomalie and Batticaloa to be on the look out lest the king fall upon them unwares.

But Coster waited upon the king to explain the matter and the Dutch agreed to give up Trincomalie to

282. FRESH AGREEMENTS

the king and occupy all other forts till he paid the expenses of the war, and consented to raze Colombo to the ground when it was captured. When the Portuguese were finally expelled from the island and all the

expenses of the war were paid, then the Dutch would keep only one fort. Having settled this new arrangement, the fleet made for Galle with all haste.

The Portuguese were expecting an attack on Colombo, and when they found the fleet making for Galle,

283. FALL OF GALLE

they hastily sent a relieving force which had much ado to reach in time. The Dutch landed their forces at Unawaṭuna beyond range of the guns of the fort; the relieving party attempted to take the Dutch encampments by surprise, but their plan was betrayed, and though they fought with great courage, they were beaten back into the fort, which was forthwith bombarded. On the 13th March, Coster decided to storm it and in spite of a most gallant defence carried it at the cost of many lives. The king's men arrived in time to share the sack according to the arrangements made with Rājāsinha.

Galle was the largest fort and the most valuable acquisition so far made by the Dutch. It commanded

284. IMPORTANCE OF GALLE

the richest and the most fertile cinnamon lands: it was captured without assistance from Rājāsinha and garrisoned without protest. For these reasons as well as because of the advantages of its position, it now became the headquarters of the Dutch Company in Ceylon. Coster was made President of the Company's people in Ceylon, and a Frenchman, named Walraven de St. Amand was made captain of the fort of Santa Cruz of Galle, as it was named by the Portuguese.

III.

OPPOSITION TO THE DUTCH

Rājāsinha was very uneasy at these developments. He had called in the Dutch to oust the

Portuguese, and now they were preparing to
285. RAJASINHA'S settle down comfortably in the
ALARM captured forts. He was therefore
 disposed to cry a halt till the expenses already incurred
 by the Dutch were paid, for not till then could he ask
 for the delivery of his forts according to the treaty.
 But meanwhile, the expenses went on increasing, as the
 garrisons were maintained on the king's account. He
 therefore began to treat his allies with great coldness
 and even hostility, prohibiting the people to trade with
 them, neglecting to supply them with provisions as
 stipulated, and even leaving their many letters un-
 answered.

Coster, therefore, went to Kandy to expostulate
 with the king who replied to his complaints in writing
 and in very strained language.
286. MURDER OF The Dutchman was wroth and set
COSTER out on his return journey to Galle
 via Batticaloa. One of the king's officers overtook him
 on the way to search a runaway slave for stolen pro-
 perty, as he alleged, which exasperated Coster so much
 that he flung away the present given him by the king,
 to compensate for the alleged theft. He was next
 overtaken by about 500 men under a mudaliyar who
 declared that he came to escort him. But at Nilgala
 there was an altercation in the course of which Coster
 and some others were killed. The king wrote to the
 Dutch disclaiming all responsibility for the murder and
 expressing his desire for the continuation of negoti-
 ations.

Colombo, meanwhile, was in great perturbation for
 fear that the Dutch would next attack that fort, and in
 response to their urgent appeals, a
287. PLOT TO relieving force was despatched
BETRAY GALLE under a new captain-general, Braz
 de Castro. He was driven by a storm to Mannār and

did not bestir himself overmuch to reach Colombo. But the captain of Galle, Walraven de St. Amand, sounded some of his countrymen about betraying the fort to the Portuguese when he heard of the fate of Coster. As his friends refused to join him, St. Amand ran away to the Portuguese and revealed to them the straits to which the fort was reduced, which relieved the general from any fear of attack. The general therefore prepared to recover Negombo, and while he was actually on the point of setting out, his brother, Don Philip Mascarenhas, arrived as captain-general of Ceylon.

The new general fell in with his brother's plan and advanced on Negombo without any delay, driving Mudaliyar Don Balthezar (253) before him. The Dutch fort was ill prepared for a siege and surrendered to the Portuguese and was soon repaired and garrisoned by them. It was the first and the only fort which the Portuguese succeeded in wresting back from the Dutch, and to add to their triumph, a detachment sent against Don Balthezar, one of the ringleaders of the conspiracy against Constantine de Sa, who was now commanding a force of Rājasinha in the neighbourhood, was so successful as to defeat and behead him. A force was then sent to reduce the Four and Seven Kōralēs, which even captured the cinnamon prepared for the Dutch. Rājasinha, who was at Ruanwella, promptly retreated to Kandy, and the Portuguese burnt his palace and encamped at Alauwa to guard the frontiers. Another detachment cleared the Mātara disāwani and encamped at Kalutara to prevent the Dutch from securing cinnamon.

Pleased with this success, the general decided to

attempt the recovery of Galle. Being a wealthy man, he was even ready to buy it or bribe one to betray it into his hands, and failing this, he sent a

**289. ATTEMPT
ON GALLE**

force to scour the country and cut off supplies from the fort. The displeasure of Rājasiṇha had reduced the Dutch to the necessity of procuring their own supplies, and none were available. It was thought imprudent to quarrel with Rājasiṇha, lest he should make up with the Portuguese. The Dutch therefore reinforced the garrison and supplied it with victuals from abroad, and determined to dissemble with Rājasiṇha till the Portuguese were finally expelled from the island.

The king had troubles in his own realms. His brother, Vijayapāla prince of Mātālē, had been placed under guard for fear of dealing with the Portuguese. But he escaped from custody and went

**290. RAJASINHA'S
TROUBLES**

to Ūva, and when pursued by Rājasiṇha, to Batticaloa, where he endeavoured to set the Dutch against his brother. Rājasiṇha was thus reduced to the necessity of asking help from the Dutch. Vijayapāla soon succeeded in making his way into Portuguese territory where he was welcomed. The idea of supporting him against Rājasiṇha was mooted and abandoned and the prince was ultimately sent to Goa where he received an allowance befitting his rank and settled down there, having become a Christian.

The Dutch in Galle meanwhile were so hard pressed for supplies for the garrison that they had to

**291. BLOCKADE
OF GALLE**

sally out to forage. The Portuguese therefore lay in wait for them, and in August 1642 encountered a party at Wakwella and destroyed it to the dismay of the garrison. They then tried to persuade the Muslims of Mātara to attack the Portuguese

encampments unawares, but the plot was discovered and, the Muslims of Mātara were ruthlessly put to the sword. Yet though the Dutch in the fort were hemmed in and deserted by their ally, the Portuguese were not in a position to storm the fort, as it was not safe to withdraw the garrison from the Sinhalese frontiers.

Rājasinha had sent ambassadors to Batavia to exonerate himself from the charge of infidelity to his promises. The director of the Company was not at all satisfied with the king's explanations, but as he was bent on capturing the cinnamon trade of Ceylon by ousting the Portuguese, he announced that he was soon sending a fleet to capture Colombo.

But in the meantime a revolution in Portugal had got rid of the Spanish connection and had acclaimed John of Braganza as King John IV. of Portugal. The new king immediately made a ten years' truce with Holland, and till the terms of peace were settled, each nation was to keep what it actually held at the time. On the strength of this clause, the Dutch now demanded to be put in possession of the 'kingdom of Galle' on the score that it belonged to the fort. This the Portuguese stoutly denied, and the truce became inoperative in this island.

The promised Dutch fleet was therefore despatched and arrived in 1642. The Portuguese promptly recalled the garrisons of Alauwa and Sabaragamuwa to defend the coast. But the Dutchman found the time inopportune and sailed away, whereupon the Portuguese force was ordered to Galle to lay slow siege to the fort. A force of Rājasinha under Hīnkenda Mudaliyar was in the vicinity, but was defeated and the

**292. RAJASINHA'S
AMBASSADORS
AT BATAVIA**

**293. REVOLUTION
IN PORTUGAL**

**294. BATTLE OF
AKURESSA**

commander slain; and the Portuguese encamping at Akuressa reduced the fort of Galle to great straits. The Dutch then determined to take the Portuguese unawares and made their way to Akuressa in great secrecy by way of Weligama. But news of the expedition had reached the Portuguese commander who advanced against the enemy, and inflicted a heavy defeat on them on the plains of Akuressa in May 1642.

To wipe off this disgrace, the Dutch fitted out a fleet under a Frenchman, named Francois Caron, who

**295. DUTCH
RECAPTURE
NEGOMBO**

came coasting along the island to make believe that he was intent on Colombo, and when the Portuguese had concentrated their forces, quickly made for Negombo. Landing to the north of the fort, he marched his forces in three divisions against the fort. The captain-major, Don Antonio Mascarenhas, who was in charge of the relieving force and who was chafing under the rebuke that he had never faced the Dutch foe during his generalate, was bent on giving an exhibition of his gallantry, and acted with such precipitation that in spite of a very well-fought battle, he was killed with the greater part of his men, and the fort again passed into the hands of the Dutch East India Company. After garrisoning the fort, Caron embarked his men and arrived at the mouth of the Kelany river to besiege Colombo. But realizing that it was not an easy matter to attack the principal fort of the Portuguese without effectual assistance from Rājasinha, he abandoned the attempt.

Hearing of the fall of Negombo, the viceroy sent reinforcements, and Mascarenhas prepared to recover the fort again. He surrounded

**296. ATTEMPTS
ON NEGOMBO**

the fort, and erecting batteries, began to bombard it and razed part of the works, but his attempt to storm it was

so ill conducted that he was beaten back with heavy loss.

Rājasinha remained neutral during these encounters, and soon the truce between Holland and Portugal **297. TRUCE BET. WEEN HOLLAND AND PORTUGAL** was definitively extended to India and Ceylon. It was agreed that the Dutch should retain not only the forts of Negombo and Galle, but even the districts depending on them. The Bentota river became the boundary between the Portuguese and Dutch possessions, and still remains the boundary between the Western and Southern Provinces. Thus the Dutch Company obtained their most cherished desire, the possession of the cinnamon districts of Ceylon. Don Philip Mascarenhas was appointed viceroy of India and left Ceylon.

PART II.
**THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DUTCH
 EAST INDIA COMPANY IN CEYLON.**
 1645—1655

CHAPTER XIII.

1. KING OF KOTTE AND JAFFNA

John IV. 1640—1686

2. KING OF KANDY

Rājasinha 1635—1687

I.

POLICY OF THE DUTCH

Rājasinha and the Dutch had each a genuine grievance against the other. It was now seven years since the Dutch had brought help to Rājasinha on promise of payment, but scarcely a fraction of the cost of the fleets, which amounted to about a million guilders, was yet paid; and what was worse, the king did not seem disposed to fulfil his promise of supplying them with merchandise and provisions. On the other hand, the forts captured by the Dutch were captured for Rājasinha and were held nominally for him, but actually in defiance of him, though at his expense: and in the truce with the Portuguese, the forts were described as possessions of the Dutch East India Company. Rājasinha was incensed at this and sent an order forbidding them to occupy or fortify any part of his territories without his express leave, pointing out that, since they were now at peace with the Portuguese, the reason they gave for the military occupation of the lands did not now hold good. A copy of the truce was then sent to him, and he found that he had been included without his consent, as a

party to it. He then sent another order calling upon them to rectify the mistake and insert his name instead of that of the Company as the lawful master of the lands. He permitted them to enjoy the revenues of the lands till the debt was paid, but they were by no means to be the masters. He also pointed out that they should not have acknowledged the Portuguese to be masters of Kaṭugampola, Puttlam, Kalpiṭiya, Bulatgama, and the four Kōralēs of Handapanduna, Kinigoda, Paranakūru, and Galboḍa, and the lands to the north of Puwakpiṭiya, as they belonged to him and were in his possession at the time. The Dutch admitted the justice of the king's claim, promised to amend the truce, and excused themselves on the ground that, as the agreement was between the Portuguese and themselves, they had to put in their own name. They also said they intended to hold the lands of Negombo and Galle till they recuperated themselves for the expenses of war.

This did not satisfy the king, and he withheld supplies from the forts, punished those who dealt with the Dutch, ordered the peelers of cinnamon to keep beyond six miles of the forts, and sent his disāwas to guard the lands. But the Dutch had now come to the conclusion that, as the king had not paid their expenses and was inclined to be unfriendly, they must not let the lands out of their hands. In fact they were now actually administering the government, and had even taken the precaution of forming a secret alliance with the Portuguese against Rājasinha in violation of the public treaty with the king against the Portuguese. For, intent on securing the cinnamon of Ceylon, they were now on the fence, ready to be the friends or enemies of the one or the other according

299. DUTCH POLICY

to their interests. They levied the customary taxes and tolls, exacted *rājakāriya* and held elephant hunts. In 1644 they loaned four tame elephants from the Portuguese for the purpose of a kraal and had to give half the catch to the Portuguese. In the following year they wished to have all the elephants for themselves and being eager to pick a quarrel, Jan Thysen 'Governor of the conquests' in Ceylon formally declared war against Kandy and seized the king's tame elephants.

Rājasinha too was not unwilling to have an excuse for war and wrote a very indignant letter and immediately mustered his force and marched against the Dutch encampment at Pannare in the

300. WAR

Seven Kōralēs. But the Dutch authorities in Batavia did not approve of breaking out in war and sent Jan Maetsuyker as governor. He wrote a conciliatory letter informing the king that Thysen was dismissed for it and promising to restore the elephants. Thysen was not dismissed, nor were the elephants returned, but orders were sent to withdraw the garrison of Pannare. Adrian van der Stel who was sent to bring back the troops bore himself insolently and was attacked and killed by the king's troops. The camp was immediately besieged for eight days and surrendered. Another camp had also to surrender, and Rājasinha sent the garrison prisoner to Kandy, reduced the whole of the Negombo district and effectually prevented the Dutch from securing the coveted produce of the lands. This in turn incensed Maetsuyker who demanded from the king whether he wished for war or peace and threatened to seize Batticaloa, Koṭṭiyar, and Trincomalie, and the first and last were in fact occupied. This led to a rupture, and the king did not reply to the governor's letters,

and much difficulty was felt to procure the products, as the lands of Negombo and Galle were under the king's disāwas.

In 1647 both parties desired to come to terms. The governor reported to Batavia that no lasting peace could be made with the king; but the fear of the Portuguese coming to terms with him made the Dutch desire at least the semblance of a peace. Maetsuyker therefore sent a Dutch ambassador to Kandy who discussed with the king certain points in dispute regarding the observance of the treaty of 1638, (273) and that treaty was confirmed with some modifications, the chief of which was the monopoly of trade. Now the concession was restricted to cinnamon which "shall not be given to any other nation, so long as the expenses incurred by the Company in the king's service shall remain unpaid." The Dutch also asked that a disāwa of their own nation might be appointed to Mātara and that Negombo be left in their hands till Colombo was taken. Soon after signing this treaty, Maetsuyker left Ceylon, giving his successor some instructions from which we gather that the Dutch did not expect their debt to be paid and did not intend to give up the possession of the territories.

These territories were the Negombo district, extending from Weligampitiya to Mādampe along the coast up to six leagues inland into the Seven Kōralēs; and the Mātara district from Alutgama to the Walawē, up to about a dozen miles landwards. In this district they had the fortified posts of Bentoṭa, Piṭigal, Māpalagama, Akuressa, Hakmana, and Mātara. Over these districts the governor of Galle ruled, entrusting the civil and judicial administration to a

301. NEW TREATY

302. DUTCH TERRITORIES

Dutch disāwa, a captain of the Galle kōralē and a lieutenant at Alutgama. The mahābadda or cinnamon department was under a special captain assisted by four vidhānas. These officers had the command of *ranchus* of lascarins under mudaliyars, kōrāles and ārachchis. A Sinhalese adigār was next in rank to the disāwa, who was assisted by other chiefs and mohoṭṭālas.

The Company levied the customary taxes and enforced *rājakāriya* according to a register made by

303. THE the mohoṭṭālas in which the names
COMPANY'S of men of various castes were
ADMINISTRATION entered with the obligations which each had to fulfil by immemorial custom in return for holdings in land. (7) Such for instance was the valuable service of gathering and peeling cinnamon, performed by one class of people. The Dutch made much of them, gave them special privileges and provided them with good holdings and maintenance. There were also betmas or districts in which the elephant hunt was held. The people belonging to this elephant department had to supply every year 34 elephants with at least four tuskers. Within the last five years they delivered 70 elephants at Mātara.

To ensure the due performance of these and other services, the Dutch tried to keep the chiefs pleased

304. POLICY and content, heaping favours and
TOWARDS honours upon them, lest they place
CHIEFS themselves under the king. They were urged to reside near the fortifications and given special treatment. Sixteen schools were already begun, mostly in places where schools had been opened by the Portuguese priests. No Catholic priest was allowed to enter the territories or to administer the sacraments, as the people were known to be "very favourably

disposed towards the Portuguese government and religion." Many Catholic priests, however, visited their flocks in secret.

II.

TRIANGULAR WARFARE

The Portuguese meanwhile found themselves between two fires and remained inactive. In 1645 Don
305. PORTUGUESE Philip Mascarenhas was succeeded
BETWEEN by Manoel Mascarenhas Homem who
TWO FIRES had the difficult task of trying to keep peace with Rājāsinha and the Dutch. Learning, however, that the king was displeased with his allies, he sent ambassadors to Kandy in the hope of coming to some terms with Rājāsinha, but that monarch was now disposed to play off one European nation against the other, and kept the ambassadors to excite the jealousy of the Dutch. When Rājāsinha advanced against the Dutch in the Seven Kōralēs, (300) he asked leave from the Portuguese to march through their territories, but he afterwards informed the Dutch that they granted him the permission in violation of the truce. Thus there was a triangular contest between the three parties, and the Portuguese stationed their army in the outposts of Menikkaḍawara, Kananntota, Sabaragamuwa, Alauwa, and Malwāna to guard against Rājāsinha, and of Alutgama and Kalutara to guard against the Dutch.

In 1650 Maetsuyker was succeeded by Jacob van Kittenstein, who according to his instructions
306. FRICTION endeavoured to keep the king of
BETWEEN RAJA- Kandy in good humour without
SINHA AND THE letting the government of the
DUTCH country out of his hands or allowing the king to place a Sinhalese disāwa. Thus when Rampot, who was sent to Mātara as disāwa,

drove out the Dutch guards of Kirame and Kaṭuwana and assumed the administration of the disāwani, Kittenstein at once sent a force to recover the posts and to drive out the Sinhalese troops, and wrote to the king asking him to appoint a Dutchman as disāwa. The king was greatly displeased and asked the governor to submit an account of the expenses incurred by the Company of which they were constantly reminding him, and of what had been credited to him. This request does not appear to have been complied with, nor did the king deny the insinuation of Kittenstein that he was dealing with the Portuguese. But letters and presents were still exchanged, and Rājasinha expressed his pleasure that the Dutch were fitting out a fleet for the conquest of Colombo, and promised his aid.

In 1652 the captains of Negombo and Galle sent envoys to Colombo to announce the termination of the
307. TERMINATION OF TRUCE truce (297) and the resumption of hostilities from the 4th of October. The Portuguese expected that the captain-general would at least make a show of welcoming the intimation, though in fact Mascarenhas had been most inactive and had not only not prepared for the day but had even weakened the army by favouritism and had neglected the necessary fortifications. His behaviour had been such that many suspected him of attempting to betray the city to the Dutch. To add to this, he did not even now reinforce Kalutara which would obviously be the first post to be attacked. In response to the general outcry, however, he sent some troops with orders to abandon Kalutara if the Dutch attacked it. Kalutara was the key to Colombo and its abandonment was looked upon as a base betrayal.

The Dutch who were ready at Bentōta immediately crossed the river, occupied the lands, seized and fortified the fort of Kalutara, and sent word to Rājasiṅha that the time had come for them to render him the long desired service of capturing Colombo. The Portuguese garrison of Kalutara retreated towards Colombo and those of Malwāna, Angurātoṭa, and Sabaragamuwa received orders to retire on Colombo, which they did, leaving the provisions behind them at a time when Colombo was blockaded by three Dutch ships and was hard put to it to obtain the necessary victuals. The Dutch immediately occupied Angurātoṭa, and the king's troops seized Sabaragamuwa.

These proceedings caused great consternation in Colombo and the governor was branded a traitor. Some of the citizens of Colombo who had friends and relatives in the main Portuguese camp of Menikkaḍavara stirred the soldiers against the general and they mutinied against the captain-major who was the general's son-in-law. They declared the general a traitor and called upon the city of Colombo to depose him. Sending the captain-major to Colombo under guard, they set up a board of control consisting of twelve soldiers and brought Gaspar Figueyra de Serpe to be their captain-major.

Figueyra was the son of a Portuguese father and a Sinhalese mother and had shown himself a valourous and experienced soldier. He soon decided to bring the army to Colombo, but Rājasiṅha, coming to hear of the mutiny, tried his best to win them to himself, offering to take them into his service or to give them lands to settle down in or free passage to any place they liked. But the soldiers' quarrel was

**308. DUTCH SEIZE
KALUTARA AND
ANGURATOTA**

**309. MUTINY OF
PORTUGUESE
ARMY**

**310. GASPAR
FIGUEYRA**

with the general, not with their countrymen, and they despised the invitation. The king thereupon tried to hinder their march, but Figueyra brought them safe to Colombo and encamped at Nākalagama. Then crossing the river, he occupied Tanque Salgado (*Lunu Pokuna*) in Colombo intending to march against the city.

The citizens of Colombo and the priests tried to remonstrate with the general, but he was obdurate and prepared to oppose their entry by force of arms. But the troops of the city, indignant at the suggestion, went over to the mutineers, who prepared to force their way into the city. On the persuasion of the priests and monks, the soldiers undertook to enter in peace and swore to do no harm to any one. The general then seeing that everything was against him resigned his office and was allowed to withdraw into the Dominican convent.

311. GENERAL DEPOSED

Figueyra then garrisoned the city, and at a meeting of the Chamber of Colombo, the superiors of the religious orders and the chief citizens, it was decided to elect three triumvirs to administer the government till the viceroy appointed a successor. Figueyra was confirmed in his post as captain-major and immediately took the field.

312. TEMPORARY GOVERNMENT

On the news of the mutiny, Rājasinha and his allies began to approach Colombo. Figueyra therefore sent a detachment to Malwāna against Rājasinha and marched first against a Dutch force from Negombo which was hovering about the city. Hearing of the peaceful settlement, the Dutch hastily withdrew, pursued by Figueyra who hemmed them in the fort,

313. FIGUEYRA'S EXPLOITS

reduced the lands, and seized the cinnamon prepared for the Dutch. He next turned against the Dutch forces of Galle which were encamped at Angurātoṭa and Tebuwana. The former was besieged and bombarded till it surrendered, whereupon the Dutch forthwith abandoned the lands and evacuated the fort of Kalutara. This enabled Figueyra to march against Rājāsinha's forces in the Four Kōralēs. He dispersed the force and slew its commander, Condume Disāwa, and advanced through Ruanwella and Bulatgama against the king himself who was at Arrandara. The king promptly retired to Wedawa and thence to Kandy, whereupon Figueyra reduced the whole of the Four Kōralēs and obtained provisions for his troops as well as for the city. He took his quarters at Arrandara and posted detachments at Alauwa, Piṭigaldeniya, and Gurubēbile, and also at Aṭṭāpiṭiya and Kotuwagoda.

III.

A NEW GENERAL

The viceroy of India sent the aged Francisco de Melo de Castro in place of the deposed general, but
314. FRANCISCO took no steps to inquire into the
DE MELO DE allegations against Mascarenhas.
CASTRO The new general arrived in May 1653 and displaced Gaspar de Figueyra who gave over the command of the army to a new captain-major, having by his enterprise changed the fortunes of the Portuguese in the last few months. Rājāsinha was at Batugedera, and the Portuguese marched to Kananntoṭa, when the king wrote to the Portuguese captain to let his men pass through with baggage to Kandy. The Portuguese were flattered by the request and on the plea of giving him free passage, retired to Malwāna whence they kept the lands in subjection.

The Dutch again occupied Kalutara in large force and sent detachments in all directions to secure the produce of the fertile Pasdum Kōralē and to reduce the people to give them allegiance. One of these detachments was posted at Diagama, and the Portuguese marched against it, whereupon it retired to Kalutara. The forces of Kalutara took the field against the Portuguese and encamped at Tebuwana and fought several skirmishes, when hearing of the arrival of a large Portuguese fleet which appeared to be threatening Galle, the Dutch quickly abandoned Kalutara to defend Galle. The Portuguese thereupon garrisoned the fort of Kalutara and posted a force at Alutgama to harass the Dutch territories.

315. DUTCH AT KALUTARA

The Portuguese fleet which consisted of five galleons came to attack Galle. Encountering three Dutch ships blockading Colombo, they prepared for battle, which was ill-conducted and indecisive, for all three Dutch ships succeeded in making for Negombo. The time of the year and the size of the Portuguese ships did not permit their remaining in Ceylon, and on the return voyage to Goa the galleons separated from each other, owing to jealousy, encountered the Dutch fleet commanded by Admiral Ryckloff van Goens and were destroyed. The loss of these galleons was a great blow to the Portuguese, and it relieved the Dutch from the fear of attack by sea and enabled them to devote all their energies to the task of driving the Portuguese out of Colombo. They soon returned to the charge.

316. THE PORTUGUESE FLEET

A Portuguese force was at Alutgama to bar their advance on Colombo, but the Dutch commander by a clever ruse enticed a part of the army to the other side of the river and fell upon it unawares, inflicting heavy loss. To destroy the rest of the force they

317. BATTLE OF KALUWAMODERA

crossed the river in a large body, higher up, and dividing into three divisions, one attacked the Portuguese camp from the rear, while of the other two, one awaited them at Kaluwamōdera and the other guarded the way to intercept the retreat to Kalutara. When the camp was attacked by the division sent for the purpose, the Portuguese retreated but fell into the ambush placed at Kaluwamōdera where they fought a furious battle and managed to cut their way to Kalutara with loss, though the Dutch army was three times as large as theirs. The Dutch pursued the retreating army to Kalurara, but were repulsed. The fort was again repaired and garrisoned.

Rājasinha being informed by the Dutch of the retreat of the Portuguese from Alutgama, and knowing
318. FIGUEYRA that the dreaded Figueyra was not
REPELS KING'S in command of the field army,
FORCES. sent Panikki Mudaliyar to assail the Four and Seven Kōralēs, compelling the Portuguese garrisons of Malwāna and Piṭigaldeniya to retire to Nākalagam. The general then called upon Figueyra to take the command once more against the king's forces, which he did with his customary rapidity and success. Marching to Kanampella, he defeated Panikki Mudaliyar with loss and proceeded to Arrandara, driving the Sinhalese army before him. He then scoured Alauwa, Bulatgama, Sabaragamuwa, and Ruanwella, and appeared at Arrandara, whereupon the mudaliyar retreated. Figueyra then raided the realms of Rājasinha, passing through Tumpāṇē and reducing the whole of the Seven Kōralēs, encamped at Arrandara and finally at Moṭṭapoliya. Rājasinha now obtained from the Dutch a picked body of troops for his body-guard.

To divert Figueyra from the interior, the Dutch and Rājasinha decided to attack simultaneously. The

king came down on Figueyra with a large force, while the Dutch similarly beset the fort of Kalutara. Figueyra, however, forestalled the king and attacking his two disāwas inflicted heavy loss and captured the encampments prepared for Rājasinha. The king himself surrounded by his body-guard came on the scene, but Figueyra gave battle in spite of the desertion of some lascarins and captured some guns bearing the arms of Constantine de Sa which had fallen into the hands of Rajasinha at the rout of the Portuguese army (255) and were now used in warfare. Another attempt of the king failed and he returned to Kandy for the *perahera* which was now conducted with grandeur, as Rajasinha was expecting to assert his claims to be the undisputed master of the island. Figueyra raided Tumpanē on the very day of the feast and obliged Rājasinha to send Pēradeniya Disāwa to repel him.

The Dutch meanwhile laid siege to Kalutara hoping to carry it or force Figueyra to leave his post and come to its help. Figueyra

319. DUTCH did not stir, and the king tried
BESIEGE
KALUTARA. to divert him with an offer of peace, but without success. Rājasinha was encamped at Māwela, when Figueyra who had no forces with which to give him battle, made as if he would march against the king, whereupon Rājasinha retreated. Figueyra then gave battle to a disāwa at Kehelpañella and advanced to Sabaragamuwa defeating the king's disāwa at Batugedera. He ravaged the district on every side and encamped at Talampitiya. On the eleventh day of the siege of Kalutara, the Dutch heard of the ill-success of the king and raised the siege.

With this campaign ended the success of Figueyra, whose knowledge of the language, customs, and

character of the Sinhalese enabled him to outwit them by the rapidity of his movements and the daring of his plans, but who, when called upon to face the regular armies of the Dutch, commanded by trained generals imperilled Colombo by his precipitation and brought his career to an inglorious end.

CHAPTER XIV.

EXPULSION OF THE PORTUGUESE

1655—1658

1. KING OF KOTTE AND JAFFNA

John IV.

1640—1686

2. KING OF KANDY

Rājasinha

1635—1687

I.

ANTONIO DE SOUZA COUTINHO, 1655—1658

Francisco de Melo de Castro was an old man who had been hurriedly despatched to Ceylon after the deposition of Mascarenhas. The gravity of the warfare in which the Portuguese were engaged required a younger man, and the viceroy soon sent Antonio de Souza Coutinho with a fleet carrying reinforcements. But the fleet was deflected from its route and appeared off Galle, whence two Dutch ships gave it chase. The general turned to face the Dutchmen, but the other ships were dispersed and driven to the coast of the island, while the general just managed to make for Jaffnapatam, pursued by the Dutch. Thence he travelled overland via Mannār, Kalpiṭṭiya, and Puttlam and reached Colombo in August 1655 with only a very small portion of the reinforcement.

In September there arrived in Ceylon a Dutch fleet of twenty ships, conveying a large force under Gerard

Hulft to capture Colombo. The Portuguese realized that the final struggle was imminent, and Coutinho at once visited Kalutara and its dependent post Angurātoṭa, and suggested to his council, in view of the great disparity of their numbers with those of the

321. FALL OF KALUTARA

Dutch, to abandon Kalutara ; but his opinion was not accepted and it was decided to withdraw all the troops in the frontiers to Colombo. Hulft arrived before the city and landed his men at the mouth of the Kēlany, intending to assault Colombo, but the heavy rains obliged him to give up his intention, and leaving seven ships to blockade Colombo, he sailed for Alutgama, and being joined by the forces of Galle, marched upon Kalutara. He occupied the ferries of the river to prevent relief, and erecting batteries, sent a detachment to land between Colombo and Kalutara and intercept reliefs. Coutinho sent a force to reinforce the fort of Kalutara, but it encountered the Dutch detachment at Panadura and was driven back. Thereupon a larger force was sent, but met with a similar fate. The council then decided to employ all the available forces to prevent the fall of Kalutara, quite unaware that the fort meanwhile had been forced by lack of provisions to capitulate on the 15th of October, and that the victorious Dutch army was marching on Colombo.

At Panadura accordingly the relieving party came across the Dutch and retired after a skirmish. Gaspar Figueyra who had been summoned to the relief of Kalutara attempted a bold stroke, and marching to relieve Kalutara encountered the Dutch army and fought a fierce battle and was defeated with heavy loss. The remnants of the army fled to Colombo pursued by the Dutch.

IV.

THE SIEGE OF COLOMBO, OCTOBER 1655—MAY 1656

If the Portuguese had hitherto brought disaster on themselves by mismanagement in the field against the Dutch forces at Negombo, Galle, and Kalutara, they were henceforth to give a most conspicuous example of gallantry and endurance, holding their chief

322. BATTLE AT PANADURA

323. GALLANT DEFENCE OF COLOMBO

stronghold of Colombo against heavy odds for seven long months in spite of famine and disease, inflicting heavy loss on the besiegers, but without the means of profiting by their victories and ever confident in the hope of relief from Goa which never came, because the captain-general whom the city had ignominiously deposed a few years before (311) had by an unfortunate chance become acting governor of Portuguese India and basely revenged himself by leaving the city to its fate.

That city was, through the neglect of the same general, quite unprepared for a siege. It was now

324. STATE OF THE CITY

more than half a century that Colombo was besieged by the renowned Rājāsinha of Sitāwaka. Since then there was no regular siege, for the attempt on it after the rout of Constantine de Sa (257) was not in the nature of a military siege but rather an assault. Consequently the city was lacking in all that was necessary for its defence. The walls were neglected and crumbling, the batteries unprovided, the artillery mostly disused and dismantled; there were neither guns nor munitions, nor men nor provisions to stand a siege.

Yet Colombo was the chief fortified town of the Portuguese and had been in their possession for over a

325. FORTIFICA- TIONS OF COLOMBO

century. It was surrounded by a line of twelve bastions connected by ramparts and protected on the north by the bay, on the west by the open sea and on the south by an artificial lake made for the purpose. The only side exposed to an attack by land was fortified by three strong bastions named St. John's, St. Stephen's, and St. Sebastian's. The main gate of the city was by the first bastion of St. John which stood on the site of modern Kayman's Gate and which is still commemorated by the name St. John's Street. The gate led to a

drawbridge protected by a redoubt, in the direction of Negombo. Another gate by St. Sebastian's bastion was called Queen's Gate, and led over a bridge to the suburb of San Sebastian and thence to Kōtte. The modern Main Street and Norris Road correspond to the two entrances to Colombo. The bastion of St. Stephen was midway between St. John's and St. Sebastian's and flanked and commanded both. At St. Sebastian's the wall skirted the lake and was protected by the bastions Mother of God, Conception, St. Jeronimo, and St. Antonio, and terminated in a large bastion of St. Iago, by which was the third gate of the city leading towards



Colombo 1656

Galle, then called the Gate of Mapana and now represented by Galle Face. Facing the sea was the bastion of St. Augustine, Galbokka, now "Galle Buck", and the bastion of St. Lawrence at the extremity. Another bastion called Santa Cruz, situated on the point jutting

into the sea, commanded the bay. Along the shore of the bay were the bastions of the custom house, and two redoubts, one near the parish church, the other near the Jesuit college and called "the breastwork St. Francis Xavier". From that breastwork the wall ran to the bastion of St. John and completed the circumvallation.

To man these posts, a force of three thousand men was needed, but there were now less than five hundred soldiers and about half that number of civilians able to bear arms. The total population of the city was about ten thousand souls; but during this siege there was double that number, for on the news of the fall of Kalutara and the advance of the enemy, all those who lived outside the fort were allowed to come in and thus imperil the sufficiency of the food supply.

On the 18th October the victorious army reached the outskirts of the city and occupied the plain of San Sebastian. The garrisons of Mal-

326. THE SIEGE wāna and Mutwal were called into the city, and the attempt to oppose

the occupation of San Sebastian failed. Hulft encamped in the church of Our Lady on the hill which for that reason is now called Hulftsdorp. There and in the three other churches situated on hill tops commanding the city, namely St. Thomas, Our Lady of Guadeloupe (now Wolvendaal) and San Sebastian, he erected batteries which bombarded the city incessantly. Rājāsinha being informed of the success of his allies, made ready to come down and sent a disāwa to offer assistance. He was very anxious to be on the spot for fear lest the Dutch keep Colombo also after its capture as they did with Batticaloa, Trincomalie, Negombo, and Galle. He had repeatedly asked that the fort of Colombo should be razed to the ground when captured, and the Dutch had

promised to do so, (282) but so far he had not paid the expenses of the expeditions, nor did the Dutch credit



Gerard Hulft

him with the revenues of the lands they were now enjoying.

When the ramparts and parapets were partly demolished all along the line, and especially the bastion of St. John, Hulft determined to storm the city by land and sea on 12th November. Four ships entered the bay and assailed the Santa Cruz, forcing the Portuguese to man the bastions on the harbour side.

**327. ATTEMPT
TO STORM**

Then a large force with scaling ladders advanced on the city in three divisions. One made for the breastwork of St. Francis Xavier, another directed its assault on the Queen's Gate, while the third tried to gain entry on the lake side. But the ships were soon disabled or sunk ; the party entering by the lake was surrounded and taken, and the two others were repelled with heavy loss after furious fighting. Hulft himself was wounded in the fray, and had the Portuguese been able to pursue the discomfited army, the Dutch would have been routed, for their defeat was complete and thorough, but the besieged were without the means of profiting by their victory.

After some fruitless attempts to take the city by storm, the question of raising the siege was mooted.

328. SLOW SIEGE

The heavy losses they had sustained counselled the step, but the absolute necessity of getting rid of the Portuguese if the Dutch were to enjoy the products of the island and deprive Rājasinha of the means of injuring them, decided the question ; and it was agreed not to risk any further disaster by any attempt to storm the city, but to reduce it by starvation. The ships blockading the city effectually prevented relief by sea and hoped to intercept reinforcements : the forces on land hemmed the city, cutting off all hope of provisions from land, while the guns and mortars and grenades kept playing on the city, hurling fire. The Portuguese, however, were quite confident of relief from Goa and held out, frustrating all the attempts of the Dutch to mine the bastions. The warfare they waged now was chiefly underground, in mines and tunnels and counter-mines, and almost every skirmish in that region ended in the discomfiture of the assailants. The governor of Jaffna who was bringing provisions was captured at Mutwal, and the city was reduced to starvation.

The king, meanwhile, being informed of the failure of the Dutch assault, delivered without waiting for him, blamed the general for not consulting him betimes. The time was, he said, unlucky, and he recommended them not to try again without first consulting him. His allies, on the other hand, were eager to keep him out, but dared not object openly, for they had no intention of handing the fort over to him, much less of razing it, and were only anxious not to quarrel with him before reducing the city, as they still needed his help, and the Portuguese had taught them not to be over confident of carrying it. Thus the weary months dragged on.

The besieged with feverish energy repaired by night the damage done by day, and occasionally sallied out and destroyed the enemy's siege works and inflicted heavy loss.

330. VALOUR OF DEFENDERS The Portuguese soldiers were inspired by love of king and country and were fighting for their home and fame. The mercenary soldiers of the Dutch company on the other hand, recruited as they were from many nations, had no motive sufficiently strong to make them risk their skins for the benefit of the Company. They were comfortably lodged and well provisioned, with a large labour force supplied by the king to dig mines and trenches, and did not mind the delay and were only intent on preventing reliefs by land and sea. Famine was pressing the Portuguese heavily, and the general decided to expel the unarmed inhabitants. The Dutch drove them back at the point of the sword or hanged some on gibbets as a warning to the others. Disease, added to famine, daily thinned the ranks of the defenders, and reduced the besieged to sustain life on putrid vegetation and resort to dead animals and

even to human flesh. Driven to such extremes, some soldiers deserted to the enemy. The lake dried up owing to the unusual drought and permitted the Dutch to approach within a few yards of the walls.

Rājasinha too approached the city fixing his quarters at Giriimbula, Weliwita, and lastly at Reygamwatta.

331. DEATH OF HULFT

He was anxious to meet Hulft. An audience was arranged, but was put off, as the king took ill. It took place at last on 8th April with great pomp and ceremony. At his request Hulft promised not to attack the



Rajasinha and Hulft

city without first informing him ; but on the very next day while inspecting the siege works, Hulft was shot down and died. Adrian van der Meyden took up the command.

Unfortunately for the Portuguese, the viceroy of India died in January, and when the letters of succession were opened, it was found that the king had nominated Manoel Mascarenhas Homem who had been deposed and expelled from Colombo (311) to act till a successor was named. This man now sought to revenge himself on Colombo by delaying the relieving expedition that the late viceroy had prepared. He did not dare to stop it for fear of a public outcry, but kept on delaying till the time for safe sailing was over. Then it set out under an incompetent commander and encountering the Dutch fleet avoided a decisive combat and remained at Tuticorin, reducing Colombo to the extremes of misery. When the Dutch saw the monsoon was over and with it the possibility of relief, they again renewed the bombardment with fresh ardour and summoned the city to surrender giving it the news of the viceroy's death, the accession of Mascarenhas, the failure of the relief expedition and the capture of the governor of Jaffna. But the general refused to surrender, and the Dutch determined to storm the city.

Râjasinha was eager to be on the spot for fear the Dutch would treat with the Portuguese without him and requested the Dutch not to assault the city without informing him. But on 7th May the Dutch delivered a furious assault on the bastion of St. John and destroyed it at the cost of many lives. Though the city was not yet taken, war, disease, famine, and despair made some wish to blow up the city with all its inhabitants. However, wiser counsels prevailed; and they hoisted the white flag and sent envoys to ask for terms. The Dutch, to whom the siege had cost many lives, rejoiced at the offer and conceded honourable terms before the king should come to hear of it.

322. DELAY OF RELIEF

333. CITY ASSAULTED

Thus on 12th May, 1656, the remnants of the defenders of Colombo, some seventy three haggard men, staggered to Hulftsdorp to lay down their arms, and the flag of the Dutch East India Company flew over the city of Colombo.

334. SURRENDER The Dutch troops entered the city, shut out Rājasinha's men by force, and occupied the gates. The king's wrath knew no bounds, but he was impotent. All he could do was to issue proclamations forbidding the Sinhalese to deal with the Dutch and inviting the Portuguese to his territories promising them the religious liberty which the Dutch denied to Catholics. The prohibition to trade with the Dutch was ineffectual, because the king could not protect those who obeyed him. The invitation, however, was effectual, for as the Dutch were known to be so bigoted as not to allow the Catholics the exercise of their religion, hundreds accepted the king's offer and escaped to him. These he settled on the frontiers of his kingdom, giving rise to the Catholic communities of Ratnapura, Avisawella, Ruanwella, Galagama, Kandy, and Wahakōtte.

The king's disāwas stirred up the people against the Dutch, who sallied out and attacked three disāwas at Nākalagam. At Negombo, Kalutara, Alutgama, Weligama, and Mātara there were outbreaks of hostilities forcing the Dutch to post troops in various places. The Dutch governor was alarmed by these, and being unable to procure provisions for his men, remonstrated with Rājasinha, offering to destroy the fortifications of Negombo and hand over the place, and sending him diverse presents. But the king was too much disappointed with the Dutch to heed their communications and retired to Ruanwella and tried to open

communications with the Portuguese. The Dutch promptly occupied the royal camp at Raygamwatta and dispersed the Sinhalese troops.

The governor did not wish to keep a large force in Colombo and therefore reduced the size of the fort,

336. FORT AND PETTAH

separating it from the residential quarter, which they therefore called the Old Town and which in British times came to be called by an Anglo-Indian term "Pettah", from *pettai*, Tamil, extra mural suburb of a fortified city. The Fort was the portion of Colombo extending from the harbour to the modern Canal Row, and from York Street to Galle Buck. This was fortified by a thick rampart and bastions at the angles. The Old Town extended from modern Front Street to Fourth Cross Street and from Maliban Street to the sea. The Fort and the Old Town were separated by an open space which was afterwards turned into a pond by admitting the lake, and the road from the Old Town to the Fort lay over a dam or causeway, now represented by Main Street. The names Fort and Pettah still survive and have an extended application, but the significance of the names has completely disappeared.

III.

REDUCTION OF MANNAR AND JAFFNA

The task of clearing the districts from the depredations of the king's troops and of fortifying themselves,

337. MANNAR AND JAFFNA

prevented the Dutch from continuing their operations against the last remaining strongholds of the Portuguese, namely Mannār and Jaffna. The Portuguese on the other hand, profiting by the respite, tried to prepare for the struggle that was in store. Antonio de Amaral de Menescz, governor of Jaffna (328) who was released on the surrender of Colombo went to

Negapatam and persuaded the released prisoners to come to the aid of Mannār. He strengthened the fort and erected another at Kayts, the key to Jaffna.

Rājasinha was soon beset by domestic troubles. In his eagerness to oust the Portuguese and prevent his allies from laying hands on Col-

338. TROUBLES OF RAJASINHA

ombo, he had spent several months away from his capital. His absolute method of government and the incessant warfare in which he employed his subjects made him very unpopular. And when his subjects saw the utter failure of his diplomacy, and that he had only exchanged one foreigner for another "like exchanging pepper for chilly" as the Kandyan saying went: "*miris dila inguru gatta wagei*"—his unpopularity increased, and attempts were made to poison him. He punished the traitors very severely and left his capital never to return to it: thus relieving the Dutch from any fear of his interference.

Accordingly it was only in February, 1658, that a Dutch fleet sailed for Mannār under Rycklof van Goens.

339. CAPTURE OF MANNAR

The island of Mannār had been under the Portuguese for nearly a century (108) and was an opulent and prosperous place till Jaffna supplanted it, for it was the custodian of the Fishery Coast and reaped great profits. But after Jaffna became a Portuguese province, Mannār dwindled, and the arrival of the Dutch in Indian waters interrupted the fishery so that the island was gradually neglected. The large Dutch force soon effected a landing and met with a stout opposition, fighting perhaps the most sanguinary battle between the two nations in this island. The defenders were beaten back into the fort with great loss and the death

of the governor. The Dutch forces soon invested the fort, which surrendered after four days of siege on 22nd February 1658.

The victorious troops marched on Jaffna by land, hoping to surround it before the Portuguese could recover from their flight. Making their way through the tractless Vanni, they reached Poonerim and encamped between the peninsula and the mainland. Then crossing the lagoon, they advanced to Chavakachcheri and encamped within five miles of the fort. Next day they reached Chundikuli where they met with the first ineffectual resistance from the garrison of the Jaffna fort. They soon advanced on the fort, driving all before them, and arriving before the gates of the fort, settled down to a siege.

340. MARCH TO JAFFNA

The Portuguese held out bravely, but the besieging force soon made itself master of the surrounding churches and beset the fort by land and sea, capturing the little fort of Kayts which surrendered for lack of water after a fortnight's bombardment. Siege guns were soon brought to bear on the fort and the grave stones, dug up from the church yards, were hurled into the city from mortars, destroying buildings and killing the unwary. The 3000 souls within the fort had no provisions, as they were surrounded before they had time to take into the fort the provisions that had been collected for the purpose. A relieving force that was despatched from Goa to the help of their last possession in Ceylon was routed by Admiral Roothans (21st June). Then after a siege of three and half months, the luckless Portuguese surrendered on very unfavourable terms and were subjected to most humiliating vexations.

341. FALL OF JAFFNA

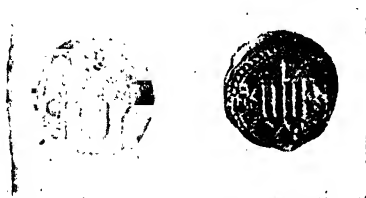
IV.

CAREER OF THE PORTUGUESE

Such was the inglorious end of the career of the Portuguese in Ceylon. Their doings in this island fall into three distinct stages : Portuguese-Sinhalese alliance, 1505-1551 ; (14-82) Portuguese Protectorate of Kōṭṭe, 1551-1597 ; (83-168) Portuguese Domination, 1597-1658. (169-341)

Arriving in Ceylon in 1505, the Portuguese formed an alliance with Kōṭṭe, and kept an armed factory, 1505--1507. The factory was

342. FIRST STAGE abandoned and the factor remained in Kōṭṭe, 1507--1518. In 1518 a fort was built, and the captain of the fort became the chief authority, but being often besieged by the Muslims



Portuguese Coin

and the Sinhalese, it was abandoned in 1524 and authority reverted to the factor till 1551. During that period many Portuguese expeditions came to the island to help the king of Kōṭṭe or the king of Kandy, and many soldiers and *casados*, as the settlers were called, remained in the island.

On the death of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the throne passed to Dharmapāla whom the king of Portugal had undertaken to protect and uphold against
343. SECOND STAGE - Mayādunna. A fort was built in Colombo and a garrison kept at Kōṭṭe. Both were attacked by Mayādunna and his son

Rājasinha, and the Portuguese were forced to abandon Kōṭṭe, 1565, (114) and bring the king to Colombo, which was thereupon stoutly besieged by the forces of Sītāwaka. For many years they tried to uphold Dharmapāla but Mayādunna soon occupied the greater part of the kingdom of Kōṭṭe, till finally on the death of Rājasinha, 1592, (142) the Portuguese were enabled to recover practically the whole of the ancient kingdom of Kōṭṭe.

On the death of Dharmapāla, the kingdom was claimed by the king of Portugal by virtue of a donation of Dharmapāla (169—170) and the Portuguese entered on a third stage.

344. THIRD STAGE

They collected revenue, administered justice, and conducted the civil and military government. (172—179) Though they had undertaken to administer the traditional laws of the Sinhalese, they did it so tyrannically and with such little regard for the feelings of the people that they were faced with numerous rebellions, such as those of Domingos Correa and Siman Correa, (165—168) Kangara Arachchi, (193) Antonio Barreto, (197) and Nikapitiya. (220—225) What was worse, smarting under a very severe reverse they met with in the expedition to Kandy, they decided to invade that kingdom. Each attempt resulted in heavy loss, including that loss of the three captain-generals Pedro Lopes de Souza, (155—158) Constantine de Sa (251—155) and Diogo de Mello. (267—269) As even these disasters did not put an end to their attempts on Kandy, Rājasinha bargained with the Dutch for their expulsion. From 1638 to 1658 the Portuguese forts of Batticaloa, Trincomalie, Negombo, Galle, Colombo, Mannār, and Jaffna were taken in succession.

The Portuguese have been generally represented as cruel, a judgment which they have deserved in some respects. They did deeds of wanton cruelty, committed ruthless massacres, and adopted cruel methods of repression and execution. But such was not their habitual practice, nor did they do so at the beginning or end of their career in this island. They did so in times of bitterness, during the rebellions, or in retaliation for similar cruelties on them. Of course cruelty does not cease to be cruelty because we can assign a motive ; but it would not be fair to accuse them of cruelty because some did cruel deeds in the heat of warfare at a time when it was the common practice of all peoples.

On the other hand the Portuguese did not look down on Asiatics or despise them. Rather they lived on terms of free intercourse with the people of this country, adopting some Sinhalese and Tamil customs in food and living, intermarrying with the people and admitting the people to the highest posts in the government and army and looking upon this island as their permanent home. In this respect, at least, they were of quite a different fibre from the other nations that succeeded them in this island.

The most lasting influence of the Portuguese was in the domain of religion. As soon as they gained a footing in this island, a number of Christian missionaries came in the wake of the soldiers ready to spend their lives in the work of spreading the Christian religion and the education of the West. They made some converts, a few in the beginning, but more numerous as

345. THE PORTUGUESE IN CEYLON

346. DEALINGS WITH SINHALESE AND TAMILS

347. THEIR RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

time passed, and hundreds of Catholic priests took up their abode in this island for good and built churches, colleges, and schools. When Dharmapāla became a Christian, many of the leading men followed his example, and the convert king gave to the Franciscans the lands which hitherto were set apart for the temples. With the revenues of these lands the priests built and maintained many churches and educational institutions. When Kōṭṭe became a possession of the king of Portugal, he thought it his duty to evangelize the island and founded churches, schools, and monasteries all over the country from Puttlam to Galle.

The doctrines of Christianity permeated the lowlands and even modified the customs of the people and familiarized even non-Christians with Christian ideas, and the inhabitants of the lowlands gradually differentiated in many ways from those of the highland kingdom. Portuguese customs and manners and even dress became fashionable, and Christianity was professed by large numbers of people and enshrined in hundreds of parishes. The influence of the priests was wielded in the favour of the people against the oppression of officials, so that even those who did not receive Christianity respected and revered the religion and the missionaries, and it is recorded that churches and priests were, generally speaking, respected even in times of rebellion and warfare. The very common idea that the Portuguese made converts by force, expressed by some writers unacquainted with the facts, is not supported by any proof. It cannot be doubted that the favours shown by the Portuguese to converts moved some to embrace Christianity. Such converts would naturally drop out at the first opportunity, and as the Dutch were very hostile to Catholics and persecuted

348. SOCIAL INFLUENCE

them very bitterly and favoured the converts to their own form of Christianity, it may be supposed that they soon went over to the Dutch religion. The fact that the great majority of Catholics remained faithful to their religion in the teeth of persecutions proves that not all were attracted by worldly considerations. There is, however, one charge against both priests and soldiers which is true, namely that whenever they had the opportunity, and especially in times of war, they destroyed both Buddhist and Hindu temples. Such actions are nowadays considered vandalism, but in those days they did not think that they were doing anything unjust, though at that time, as well as today, it was impolitic, and only made the perpetrators hated.

Another effect of the Portuguese influence was the gradual disappearance of the most galling practice of the caste system. By religion and custom the Portuguese were opposed to the idea of caste and gave no recognition to the system nor observed any of its restrictions. The result was that the more undesirable features of the caste system gradually ceased in Portuguese territory.

249. INFLUENCE ON CASTE

The influence of the Portuguese language on Sinhalese speech still survives. Practically everything introduced by the Portuguese is still denoted in Sinhalese by a word borrowed from that language.

350. LANGUAGE

Such are for instance many words relating to the Christian religion: bishop, apostle, sacrament, scapular etc. articles of Dress and Toilet such as *sapattu*, shoes; *mēs*, stockings; *kalisan*, trousers; *kamisa*, shirt; *alpenetti*, pins; *bottama*, button; *lensuwa*, kerchief; *saya*, gown; Furniture and Implements as *mēsē*, table; *pēna*, pen; *tīnta*, ink; *kadadasī*, paper; *almāriu*, cupboard; *oralōsuwa*,

clock ; *didāle*, thimble ; *bōtal*, bottle ; *viduru*, glass ; Food as *pan*, bread ; *viscotu*, biscuit ; *dōsi*, sweets ; *kēju*, cheese ; *gova*, cabbage ; Fruits as *annasi*, pineapple ; *annona*, *bilin*, *massan* ; Utensils as *kalderama*, cauldron ; *taṭṭe*, wall ; *janēla*, window ; *karatte*, cart ; *ayah*, nurse ; Christian names like Pedru, Peter ; Paulu, Paul ; Pelis, Felix ; Surnames like Alwis, Fernando, Perera, Piris, Silva, Soysa. The assertion that alcoholic drinks were introduced by the Portuguese is false. " Arrack " is not a Portuguese word, and the Portuguese used for toddy the Sinhalese word *sura* (ra). Alcoholic drinks were known in the East, long before the Portuguese.

PART II.
THE DUTCH PERIOD
1658—1796

CHAPTER XV.
THE DUTCH COMPANY AND THE
SINHALESE KINGDOM

I.

THE COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT

The country formerly styled the Netherlands or Low Countries, now Holland and Belgium, comprised the lowlands at the mouths of the Scheldt, the Maas, and the Rhine, inhabited in ancient times by Celts, Germans (Batavi), Frisians, Franks, and Saxons. After the fall of the Roman empire, the Netherlands were first attached to different kingdoms and afterwards split up into duchies and counties which were grouped together by the marriage of the dukes and counts or by inheritance. In the fifteenth century they were thus united under the duke of Burgundy, and passed by inheritance to Maximilian of Austria. The latter's son linked the Netherlands with Spain by marriage, and the Netherlanders became the subjects of the Emperor Charles and began to lay the foundations of a world-wide commerce in that monarch's vast domains. Charles abdicated the Netherlands to his son, Philip II. of Spain, who also inherited the crown of Portugal and subsequently became the husband of Queen Mary of England. At that time the Netherlands, torn by religious dissensions between the Catholics and Protestants, revolted against the despotic Philip. This revolt

finally ended in the grouping of the northern Protestant states into a republic of the United Provinces under William of Orange, while the southern Catholic provinces were given as dowry to the Archduke of Austria to become finally the kingdom of Belgium.

The republic of the United Provinces soon developed into a commercial and industrial nation as a

**352. THE UNITED
EAST-INDIA
COMPANY OF
HOLLAND**

result of the military exploits which achieved its independence. One cause of its material progress was the wealth realized by the Dutch East India Company. For nearly a hundred years after rounding the Cape, the Portuguese succeeded in keeping the route a secret and the trade of India a monopoly. The Dutch used to go to Lisbon for the Indian spices to distribute them in the ports of Northern Europe. When Philip II. forbade the Portuguese ports to his revolted subjects of the Netherlands, they were stimulated to go to the East Indies in search of the spices, and the king's attempt to destroy the trade of the Netherlanders only tended to destroy the trade of the Portuguese. A Dutchman named Cornelis de Houtman learnt the secrets of eastern navigation at Lisbon and sold the secret to some merchants of Amsterdam, who formed themselves into a company for distant lands, and despatched Houtman on an expedition to the east. He set out for Acheen in 1598, but the voyage was a failure, for one ship was captured by the Acheenese, Houtman died, and many of the crew died or were captured. One ship, however, tried to reach Batticaloa on her return voyage, but failed to do so and returned to Holland. In January, 1601, another expedition was despatched by a rival company of merchants with orders to call at Batticaloa. In May the same year

still another expedition set out under Joris van Spielbergen and succeeded in reaching Ceylon and opening communications with Wimaladharmā, as we have already seen. (190) A fourth under Sebalt de Weert arrived in November, as we have also seen, (191, 198, 199) under orders of the East India Company.

This Company was formed in 1602 and received from the States General, or parliament of the United Provinces, a grant of all lands east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Straits of Magellan. The success of the Company was unprecedented and rapid. A factory was established in Java, and Malacca, the Moluccas, and Sumatra were taken in succession. The eastern headquarters of the Company were fixed at Jacatra, afterwards called Batavia, and in 1635 Formosa was occupied. Another company, the Dutch West India Company, had similar success in the West Indies and founded New Amsterdam, now New York, and captured Brazil. These companies brought enormous riches to Holland, and that country soon became the foremost sea power in Europe.

The object of the Company was commerce, and to secure commerce and especially its monopoly, it was prepared, according to the ideas of the time, to engage in piracy on sea and war on land, to enter into alliances with kings and princes, to equip fleets and maintain armies, and even to play the sovereign. Thus their object in the recent warfare with the Portuguese was to oust them from the cinnamon trade of Ceylon. They could not do this without Rājāsinha, and so they offered their services to that king, besieged and captured the Portuguese forts in Ceylon ostensibly for the king and in his name and at his expense, but in reality for themselves. They had realized that the

**353. THE POLICY
OF THE
COMPANY**

coveted cinnamon would not be long in their hands, if they restored the lands to Rājāsinha, as they had agreed to do and as that monarch in his simplicity expected they would do and demanded with insistence. If the forts had been razed and the lands restored to their legitimate lord, they would soon have been seized by the Portuguese or the French or the English or the Danes, all of whom had now formed East India Companies and were seeking to gain a foothold in the island and were jealous of the success of the Dutch. Rājāsinha would not be able to protect his lands against a European power, and the Dutch had very cleverly bargained that the king should pay the expenses of garrisoning the forts for the protection of their trade.

Moreover, the Dutch came to suspect the king's designs. They feared that he would bargain with one

354. SEIZURE OF PORTS

of the other nations to expel them from the island as he had bargained with them to expel the Portuguese. Therefore, in spite of treaty obligations, in spite of repeated promises, and in spite of the king's indignant protests, they tenaciously held to their hard fought acquisitions in the island, as they knew that the king was powerless to resist them without the help of a sea power. Such help they were determined he should not have.

These were of course not the reasons they gave to Rājāsinha for retaining the lands which they admitted were his. They contended that they must hold the lands to recover the debt he had not paid.

355. RAJASINHA'S DEBT

That he had not paid the debt or even attempted to do so was quite true ; but the Company never presented its bill, though repeatedly asked to do so. Nor did the

Company discount what it had received in kind from the Galle and Negombo districts during fifteen years of administration. Nay more, they did not even want to be paid, for the settlement of the debt would make the king independent of them. Hence their plan was never to demand the payment of the debt, but instead to hold the lands indefinitely under the plea of recovering their expenses, and to cajole and bully the king into acquiescence, giving in if he pressed, and pressing him if he gave in; but never making war, as that was expensive. They were therefore very particular not to give the king any offence if they could help it, but to suffer all wrongs and insults as long as he lived. After his death they intended to lay aside all pretence and to claim the lands boldly as theirs, and even to extend their frontiers so as to be complete masters of the cinnamon districts.

The territories they thus occupied belonged in their estimation to three classes. Negombo, Galle, and Colombo districts they claimed to hold in payment of the debt.

356. THE DÚTCH TERRITORIES

The lands of Mannār and Jaffna they looked upon as obtained by right of conquest from the Portuguese and therefore by sovereign right, independent of Rājasinha, since they were captured without his assistance or co-operation and in spite of him, at a time when he was hostile to them. Kalpiṭiya, Trincomalie, Koṭṭiyār, and Batticaloa belonged in their minds to a third category, for they were held as a necessary protection to their other possessions, to prevent hostile nations from seizing them or from communicating with the king. These, therefore, they were willing to cede to the king if he was well disposed to them, and occasionally they allowed him free trade therein, though they were

always ready to close them to him or even to re-occupy them on the first news of the approach of a European power or of the king's dealing with another nation. The lands they held in payment of the debt, it was implied, they would restore when they had recouped themselves, but Jaffna and Mannār were theirs, and the king had no voice in the matter.

Though the Dutch looked upon themselves as the injured party, they felt the need of justifying themselves by these subtle distinctions. **357. CLAIMED BY RAJASINHA** Rājasinha, on the other hand, looked upon himself as the emperor of the whole island and the lord of all the territories now held by the Dutch, and considered the Dutch as base violators of treaties. Even when he was most peacefully inclined towards them, he always spoke of the lands as his lands, the forts as his forts, and the Dutch company as his servants, and the Dutch governor as his governor. This the company did not mind, so long as it did not go beyond words, and they themselves used the same language in their letters. To the great relief of the Company, he was soon far too preoccupied with domestic troubles to cause them much uneasiness. Though disappointed with the turn events had taken, Rājasinha had at least one consolation. There was no likelihood of the Dutch making raids on his kingdom as the Portuguese had done. The obsequiousness and servility of the Dutch who gave him high-sounding titles were quite a contrast to the haughty arrogance of the Portuguese.

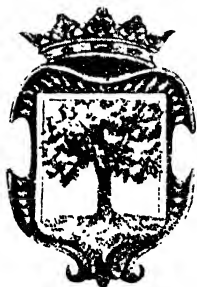
II.

DUTCH ADMINISTRATION

For purposes of administration, the Dutch divided their territories into three commanderies with a disāwani depending on each. The commandery of Colombo included the Fort and Old Town and was under the immediate command of the governor who resided in Colombo.

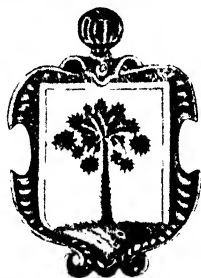
358. ADMINISTRATION OF COLOMBO

Depending on the commandery of Colombo was the disāwani of Colombo which extended from the Mahā Ōya to the Bentōṭa river and landwards to Malwāna, Hangwlla, Angurātoṭa, and Piṭigala. The disāwa lived at Hulftsdorp and had the civil, judicial, and military control of this vast district, which included parts of the Four and Seven Kōralēs and Sabaragamuwa. In it were the two forts of Negombo and Kalutara, and it was the richest of the disāwanis.



Coat-of-Arms, Colombo

359. JAFFNA

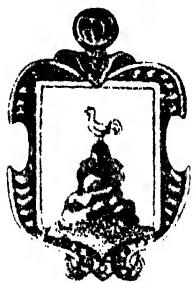


Coat-of-Arms, Jaffna

The commandery of Jaffna consisted of the town and fort of Jaffna administered by a commander who was also lieutenant-governor. Under his direction was administered the disāwani of Jaffna which extended from Mannār to Trincomalie and included the Vanni and the islands. Mannār was regarded as the key to Jaffna, and had a fort and garrison to protect the pearl fishery and the straits. To it were attached the adjoining lands of Mantōṭa, Musalipatte, and Setticolang, in which was the post of Arippu.

The Vanni was an extensive territory under the rule of certain headmen, called vanniyãrs, who had to pay a number of elephants as tribute. But the vanniyãrs were not tractable, and the Dutch did not dare to press them for the present, for fear they should resist and place themselves under Rājasinha. The islands were thirteen in number, Kārativu (renamed Amsterdam), Tanadīvu (Leyden), Punkadutīvu (Middleberg), Neduntīvu (Delft), Neynatīvu (Haarlem), Analatīvu (Rotterdam), the twin islands of Iranaitīvu (Hoorn and Enkhuysen), and five other uninhabited ones.

Galle was the third commandery, under a commander of Galle and lieutenant-governor, who resided in the fort.



Coat-of-Arms, Galle

361. GALLE AND MATARA

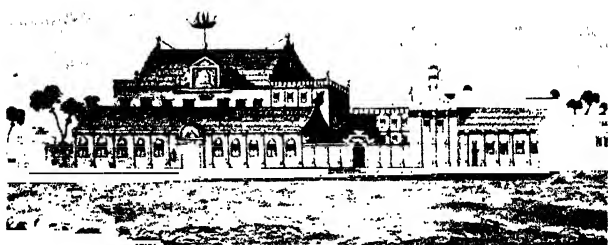
The dependent disāwani was still called by the old name of the disāwani of Matara and the disāwa resided at Matara. His jurisdiction extended from the Bentōta river to the Walawē, and landwards to Piṭigala, Beralapanatara, Mapalagama, and Kaṭuwana.

The commandant of Colombo was governor and director of the island of Ceylon and its dependencies. He

362. ADMINISTRATION

was nominated by the governor-general, resident in Batavia, and confirmed by the directors of the Company in Holland. He was the supreme authority in the island and was assisted by a political council. For the development of trade and the cultivation of the lands as well as for collection of revenue and the civil judicial administration, each disāwani was entrusted

to an officer who was called by the customary name of *disāwa* and was assisted by overseers, one for each of two *kōralēs*, and by *mudaliyars* in Jaffna. The commercial and civil administration was in the hands of a number of officers, called upper-merchant, merchant and under-merchant. The army was under the command of the *disāwa* and majors, captains, lieutenants,



Governor's Residence, Colombo

captain-lieutenants and ensigns. The *lascarins* were under *mudaliyars* and *ārachchies* and were divided into *ranchus*.

The Company also exercised judicial powers. The statutes of Batavia, which consisted of the jurisprudence of Holland modified to suit the conditions of the country, were enforced in Ceylon, without having ever being enacted by any legislative authority. Under these statutes, there was established a high court of justice at Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle. From the decisions of the courts of Jaffna and Galle, appeals

363. JUDICIARY

could be made to that of Colombo and if necessary to Batavia. For civil cases there was also a civil court in Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle, and a landraad for land cases in the disāwanis, presided over by the disāwa and other officers, Dutch and Sinhalese, conversant with the customs of the country, sitting as assessors. Less important civil suits and petty crime were judged by a fiscal, verbally in the forts, and by the disāwa in his territory. The fiscal was the public prosecutor in cases of serious crime. Very few, if any, of these judicial officers had any legal training, not being lawyers by profession, but only civil and military officers of the Company.

The chief sources of revenue were the monopoly of cinnamon, the trade in arecanut, the sale of elephants, agriculture, revenues, and dues and taxes from lands and persons, and the inland trade in salt, cloth, tobacco, sugar, pepper, etc. Of these by far the largest profit was from cinnamon, of which 50,000 lbs. were obtained annually at a little or no cost from the people living in the cinnamon villages called collectively the Mahābadda. In return for the villages they enjoyed, the people were bound to serve the Company by peeling the bark from the cinnamon plant from July to September when the cinnamon plant bloomed and enabled the peeler to remove the bark. Each able-bodied man had to deliver 682 pounds gratis as an obligatory personal service. They were also required to bring more, for which they were paid the paltry sum of six laryns for 600 pounds. While engaged in their obligatory service, they were supplied with rice, salt, and fish, which cost the Company little, as this was received from other people as dues. There was no danger of a shortage of the quantity annually

364. REVENUES, CINNAMON

required, as the cinnamon grew wild from Chilaw to Hambantota. Cinnamon being a monopoly of the Company, no man was allowed to trade in it, and every ship was searched before leaving the free ports outside the Dutch territory, such as Kalpitiya.

Arecanut was also a very lucrative trade. The areca tree grew principally in Raigam and Pasdum

Kōralēs and in the lands of the
365. ARECANUTS Mahābadda and in the territories of the king. The lease of villages was paid in arecanuts. In 1679 the trade in arecanuts alone brought the Company a sum sufficient to pay all the expenses of the garrisons of Ceylon.

Elephants were hunted in Mātara from May to September, and the vidhānas of the elephant department had to deliver to the Com-
366. ELEPHANTS pany 30 elephants and nine tuskers on behalf of those who held the Kūruwē villages. The vanniyārs paid as tribute 80 elephants a year, and the Company, moreover, held hunts of its own in the Vanni, and received elephants from Batticaloa and Trincomalie. These were sold either in Galle or in Jaffna to traders from South India. The proceeds of the sale were sheer gain, and the Company realized on an average 200,000 guilders a year from the sale of elephants.

The revenues from lands were levied for the Company which claimed all the royal villages in Raigam, Salpiti, Hēwāgam, and Hīna

367. LAND REVENUES Kōralēs, cultivated for the Company. Tolls, taxes, leases, marālas or death duties, added to the sale of chank and choya root and the revenues of the pearl fishery, together formed a very ample revenue. Agriculture was looked upon as a matter of the utmost importance. As many lands

were depopulated, the Company imported slaves from Tanjore, branded them with the Company's mark* and set them to cultivate the fertile lands, promising them their liberty, if they acquitted themselves creditably.

The ancient *rājakāriya* or royal service which the people performed in return for holdings in land, supplied the Company with free labour for the construction of public works, fortifications, canals, and

368. RAJAKA- RIYA

roads. A road was soon opened from Mātara along the coast to Mannār via Galle, Kalutara, Colombo, Negombo, Chilaw, Puttlam. Smaller rivers were bridged and larger ones were provided with ferry boats; *ambalams* or resthouses were built at convenient distances; and all this, being done by free labour and kept in repair by the same means, cost the Company nothing. Thus the East India Company was able to give its shareholders extraordinarily large dividends after deducting the vast expenses of the organization, the pay of officials, military and naval officers, and deducting depreciation of stock, wastage, and funds for further developments.

III.

THE SINHALESE KINGDOM OR SINHALE

Rajasinha was *de jure* emperor of the whole of Ceylon, but *de facto* he was only able to hold those parts of Ceylon to which the Dutch

369. DIVISIONS

Company could not assert some claim, and those from which he succeeded in keeping the Dutch out. This was by far the greatest, though not the most important or the most fruitful part of the island, and consisted of the following. First the principalities of Kōtṭe, once held by the Portuguese and now recovered, namely the Seven, Four, and Three Kōralēs, Bulatgama, and Sabaragamuwa;

*V.O.C Vereenigde Ost-indische Compagnie (United East India Company).

secondly the principalities subordinated to Kandy during the decadence of the Kōtṭe kings, namely Nuwarakalāviya, Matale, Tamankaduwa, Bintenna, Wellassa ; and thirdly, the Ratās of which the kingdom originally consisted when it was a small sub-kingdom, namely : Udu Nuwara, Tumpane, Harispattu, Dumbara, Hewahetta, and Kotmalē. Of these the first and second set were disāwanis, and bordering as they did on Dutch territory, they were of great importance. Walapana, Mātale, and Uḍapalata were also afterwards styled disāwanis. The others were ratas.

The king's power was supreme and absolute. He alone made peace or war, he alone had the power of life and death. Yet he was expected to be guided in his government by the institutions of the

370. THE CONSTITUTION

country and the customs of the ancestors. For instance before making any important change he was expected to consult the principal officers and chief priests. His royal power was exercised through many officers to whom he delegated a limited jurisdiction, civil, judicial, and military, over definite portions of the realm or over different classes of people.

The foremost of these officers were the two adigārs or mahā nilames, called respectively Pallēgampahē and Uḍagampahē

371. ADIGARS AND DISAWAS

adigārs, or first and second

adigars, who had each a general and viceregal supervision over half the realm. They were the highest in birth, rank, and honour, and conducted the important affairs of state and festivals, repaired temples, superintended elephant kraals and public works. Subordinate to them were



An Adigar

the disāwas or governors of the disāwanis, the ratērālas or the governors of ratas, and vidhānes or headmen of villages. These had charge of the collection of revenue, the exaction of service and rājakāriya, the building and repair of public edifices, roads, and resthouses for the king when he travelled, each within his own territory. The two adigars generally held the disāwaship of one or more of the chief disāwanis.

Next to the territorial chiefs were the chiefs of departments or lēkams of the atapattu or public works department, kottal badde
372. LEKAMS or artificers department, the kūruwē or the elephant department, the madigē or carriage-bullock department, who had jurisdiction not over definite districts, but over persons subject to the service of the department and dispersed in various provinces. The provincial and departmental chiefs lived at court and conducted their administration through subordinate chiefs nominated by them.

Adigārs, disāwas, lēkams, vidhānas were chosen for birth and rank, and had to pay *dekkum* or gifts to
373. REMUNERA- the king on first nomination and
TION OF OFFI- then annually. They held lands
CIALS (*nindagam*) for their maintenance and were entitled to certain dues and services from the people under their jurisdiction, who moreover had to give them *dekkum* on first appointment and annually and whenever they had need of the services of the officials.

The king was the fount of justice and exercised his rights when, where, and how he pleased. The
374. JUDICIARY adigārs, disāwas, and vidhānas adjudged all suits, civil and criminal, within their territory, but an appeal was allowed

to a higher chief and ultimately to the king, who alone could pass sentence of death. They received presents from both parties to a suit and any fine that was imposed was the perquisite of the judge. There was a great council of justice, the *mahā nadīwa*, composed of the chiefs and presided over by the king. The disputes on caste and custom were decided in a *ratē sabha* or county council, presided over by a chief; and the affairs of each village were settled in a *gansabha* or village council.

All lands in the kingdom belonged to the king and were by him gifted to temples, viharās, dēwāles, or chiefs, or to people in return for services or payment of dues in kind, or were reserved for the king himself and cultivated for him by tenants. All liabilities were attached to the land which could be sold or alienated, but subject to the dues and services, and no man was bound to any service unless he held land. Besides the dues and services arising from the tenure of lands, the people had to pay *marālas* or death duties, *dekkum* or gifts, to chiefs and king. The presentation of the taxes took place at a *perahera* or muster of forces at stated times, as once in Kōṭṭe, when the different appointments were made.

The lands were not cultivated for the market, but only for personal consumption or for the king or for the dues or for barter for salt, fish, and cloth. Thus all the products that could be sold were the products of the land that were paid as dues to the king or the chiefs. If a man cultivated anything good, it could be claimed for the king or the chief, and the cultivator would be further obliged

375. LAND TENURE

376. CULTIVA- TION

to carry it to the king or chief. There was also little money in the country, and all that the people needed was obtained by bartering the produce of the land at Puttlam, Koṭṭiyār, or Batticaloa, or with the itinerant Muslims who exchanged cloth, salt, and fish, for the produce of the country which they sold at the ports.

CHAPTER XVI.

RAJASINHA, II 1658—1687

I

DOMESTIC POLICY

Outwitted by his allies and unpopular with his subjects, Rājasinha trusted neither the one nor the other and kept them both in fear and uncertainty. He forbade trade with the Dutch, detained all foreigners coming to his realm and employed his subjects in needless occupations without giving them leisure to till their lands, surrounded himself with foreign bodyguards and spies, and multiplied watches. His chief concern was to secure himself against plots, and many were found guilty of attempting to poison him, and the king punished not only the malefactor but even his kith and kin. To turn the people's thoughts from his tyrannical ways, he kept them and the chiefs constantly busy in unprofitable labours of pulling down and building up again. The taxes and dues which his subjects brought to him annually he scorned to take, and the produce of the land laboriously gathered by his men was left to rot and decay in the storehouses. After the early revolts, he left Senkaḍa-gala for good and resided at Nillambē and thence he moved to Hanguranketa.

The consequence of this policy was to increase the attempts on his life. In 1664 the people, excited by the appearance of a comet and tired of his oppressions, determined to do away with him and enthrone his son. Under the leadership of Ambanwela

378. ATTEMPTS ON LIFE

Rāla and some disāwas, the insurgents entered his palace of Nillambē at midnight and slew the guards that did not sympathize with the conspirators, and attempted to slay the king himself. But Rājasinha with a few followers kept the assailants at bay till dawn and escaped to Galauda near Medamahanuwara.

The rebels thereupon marched to Senkaḍagala to enthrone the prince who was living with his mother. The boy, however, was quite terrified

379. REBELLION by the announcement and did not realize what it all meant, and the ardour of the conspirators cooled greatly. They were nevertheless determined to fall upon the king, but Rājasinha's sister fled to Galauda with the boy, and the rebels were disconcerted. Thereupon there was such confusion in the city that the rebels fell out among themselves and killed one another. One of the disāwas declared for the king and marched on the capital, killing all he could. The king meanwhile spared no one, and seized the leader, Ambanwela Rāla, and sent him to the Dutch to be tortured.

Again there came to the country a strange fakīr who claimed to work miracles and he began to destroy the dēwalēs without let or hindrance from king or people.

380. FAKIR EXECUTED Many flocked to him, and the story soon got abroad that he was the son of Vijayapāla, the elder brother of the king, who had fled to the Portuguese and died at Goa. (290) The king ordered him to be secured and put in the stocks, upon which he fled to the Dutch. The governor of Colombo received him with great honour and kept him in Colombo, hoping to use him as a weapon against Rājasinha. But the people in the Dutch territories now began to flock to him to the dismay of the Dutch who therefore sought to place a

guard upon him. He again escaped to Kandy, but Rājasinha had him seized and quartered.

There were several other plots against him, none of which was successful and all of which the king punished with stern severity. In consequence of the king's unpopularity, the chiefs came into prominence

381. KING'S UNPOPULARITY

and even attempted to thwart the king's plans. Towards the end of Rājasinha's life, the chiefs became dominant and often roused Rājasinha against the Dutch, and harassed their territories without the king's order. Rājasinha's Nayakkār relatives also meddled in the affairs of the country and gained an influence. They were well disposed to the English and were hostile to the Dutch. Thus the lands bordering on Dutch frontiers became exposed to constant inroads of the Dutch as well as of the king's troops, with the result that people who wished to live in peace longed to come under the protection of the Company.

In 1673 one of Rājasinha's most active disāwas, Tennekōn of the Seven Kōralēs, unable to bear the tyranny of the king, deserted to the Dutch with his followers.

382. DESERTION OF TENNEKON

His kith and kin were made to pay for it, but the people of the Seven Kōralēs desired to place themselves under the Company, which made the Dutch receive Tennekōn with great pleasure, the more so as he was formerly one of the most active generals of the king. The Dutch therefore advanced their frontiers to Dungaha and Sītāwaka. The king appeared to take no notice of the traitor, awaiting an opportunity to avenge himself both on him and the Dutch.

Towards the end of his life, Rājasinha was obsessed with the idea that any one who did well in war or had a following was a traitor, and many of the foremost men of the king were cruelly executed on suspicion.

II.

DEALINGS WITH THE ENGLISH

Rājāsinha had no settled policy in dealing with foreign nations. This island produced the best cinnamon in the world, which fetched high prices in Europe.

**383. FOREIGN
POLICY**

The monopoly of cinnamon had enriched the Portuguese and had brought the Dutch to this isle. The English, the Danes, and the French were equally eager to have a share in the profits of the cinnamon trade. The Sinhalese king, whose lands produced the cinnamon, was noted in Europe for his success in holding out against the Portuguese, and he was courted and his alliance sought by the leading trading nations of Europe. He had therefore the opportunity of being the arbiter of the cinnamon trade and of enriching himself and his country with the profits accruing from the sale of cinnamon, arecanuts, and elephants. But unfortunately Rājāsinha was not sufficiently well informed of the state of affairs outside his country, though he was not wanting in craft and wisdom. Born and bred at a time when the indignity and sufferings of the Portuguese invasions hung over his realms, his only desire was to get rid of them. Though his first attempts at diplomacy with the Dutch had failed miserably, he continued to deal with them for the satisfaction of driving out the Portuguese, without realizing that the only weapon he had against the Dutch was the presence of the Portuguese. When they were driven out, he was at the mercy of the Dutch. He could still have retrieved his position by dealing firmly with the treacherous ally, whose dread of his enmity, or still more of his friendship with other nations, was not unknown to him. But Rājāsinha did not rise to his opportunity and acted most capriciously with the Dutch and their rivals without realizing the injury he was doing to his country.

In 1659 an English ship '*the Persia Merchant*' was wrecked off the Maldives, and the crew hired a Maldivian boat and set sail, hoping to make for Colombo. They drifted to Kalpitiya which was in Rājasinha's territory, and thirteen men who came on land in two batches were seized by the king's disāwa and taken to Kandy, while the rest made their way to the Dutch at Mannār. The king discoursed with the men about their fate and promised to set them free and billeted them in the villages of his kingdom, where they remained indefinitely.

In February 1660 another English ship '*The Ann*' put into Koṭṭiyār for trade and remained some time under repairs, as she had been damaged in a storm. Rājasinha sent a disāwa to bring the English to him, hoping by their means to open a correspondence with the English East India Company. The disāwa came towards Koṭṭiyār and sent a message to the captain, Robert Knox, to meet him to receive the message from the king. As the disāwa was some miles inland, the captain sent his son Robert with another to wait on the disāwa and say that the captain could not come so far inland, but would come on shore to meet the disāwa. On hearing that the disāwa was coming to meet him, the captain came ashore and was waiting under a tamarind tree, when he was surprised by the disāwa's men and taken inland along with some other members of the crew similarly captured.

The captain was assured that no harm was meant, but that the king desired to send an ambassador to England, and he was asked to order his ship to come up the creek to wait for the ambassador. Knox mistrusted the disāwa and replied that the

**384. ENGLISH
PRISONERS**

1659

**385. ROBERT
KNOX
CAPTURED**

**386. DETAINED
INDEFINITELY**

crew would not obey such a command unless some of his own men were sent back. Two sailors were accordingly sent on board, but did not return. Knox explained that so long as he was forcibly detained, the crew would not obey his orders. He was then persuaded to send his son, Robert Knox, who warned the crew to be on the look out and returned to the father, as promised, and declared that the ship's crew would not obey the captain. The sixteen prisoners were kept for two months inactive, whereupon the captain sent an order to the ship to set sail, which she did in May. Then the disāwa returned to Kandy, leaving the captives, and shortly afterwards an officer came from the king to conduct them to the capital. They were billeted like the other English captives and detained indefinitely.

By this time the English East India Company, founded in 1600 for trading in the East, had established
387. BRITISH EAST-INDIA COMPANY itself in various factories in India, at Masulipatam in 1611, Surat 1612, at Fort St. George, Madras 1639, Fort William on the Hugli (Calcutta) in 1650. In 1661 Bombay was given to Charles II of England as dowry on his marriage with Catherine of Braganza, the Infanta of Portugal. In the marriage treaty it was laid down that if the English took Ceylon, they would give Colombo to the Portuguese, and if the latter expelled the Dutch from Ceylon, they would give Galle to the English, and that in either case they would share the cinnamon trade between them. These dealings were well known to the Dutch, and as soon as they heard that the *Ann* was in Koṭṭiyār, the Dutch governor sent a force thither, but the *Ann* had meanwhile sailed away, and the Dutch seized and fortified Koṭṭiyār. The garrison, however, was soon dying of fever and the

fort was abandoned, especially as it was known that the ship's crew had been taken to Kandy as captives.

Edward Winter, the Madras Agent of the East India Company, to whom the captives managed to
388. ATTEMPTS TO LIBERATE THE CAPTIVES send tidings of their fate, sent a ship with presents to Rājāsinha in the hope of obtaining the release of the English captives, but the Dutch frustrated the object for fear that the English intended establishing a factory in Ceylon for cinnamon. In 1664 Winter sent an envoy with presents, whereupon the Dutch strongly fortified Trincomalie. Rājāsinha, who was looking for an ally against the Dutch, sent a messenger to Madras, but he was captured by the Dutch. However, when England and Holland made peace, the Dutch governor took pity on the English captives, who had appealed to him, and made some efforts to secure their release, but Rājāsinha who had detained the Dutch ambassadors and many Dutch prisoners was not inclined to give ear to the intercession of the Dutch.

Robert Knox, junior, and another Englishman, however, escaped to the Dutch at Aripo in 1679 and were
389. ESCAPE OF ROBERT KNOX sent to Batavia, whence Robert returned to England after a captivity of nearly eighteen years. He was received in audience by Charles II. and wrote a most interesting book on Ceylon. Afterwards he took service in the East India Company and became a slave trader and even sent a letter to Rājāsinha. Six other Englishmen also managed to elude the Kandyan watches at various times and escaped to the Dutch. The rest, including some who had deserted from the *Herbert* and the *Rochester*, and were captured in Ceylon, married and settled down in the Kandyan kingdom. The attempts made by the English and by Rājāsinha to come to an alliance did not take effect in the lifetime of Rājāsinha.

III.

DEALINGS WITH THE FRENCH

In France, as in Holland and England, Companies were formed for trade in the East. In 1664 the earlier
390. THE FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY Companies were merged into an East India Company with royal support. Francois Caroon, the Frenchman who had served the Company and had recaptured Negombo in 1644, (295) quitted the Dutch and offered his services to his own countrymen and persuaded them to seek a port in Ceylon. Caroon was made director general in India and set out to make the venture. He founded a French factory at Surat and communicated with Rājāsinha through a Portuguese merchant.

A French royal squadron under Admiral de la Haye soon followed and taking Caroon on board set
391. ADMIRAL DE LA HAYE out for Ceylon arriving at Trincomalie in March 1672. The Dutch at once abandoned the fort of Koṭṭiyār, and betook themselves to Trincomalie. De la Haye and Caroon landed and chose the two islands in the bay of Trincomalie for their fort and factory and sent envoys to Rājāsinha to announce their arrival. A spy sent by the Dutch came to assure the French that the king was at peace with the Dutch and needed no help from the French, but the admiral took no notice of him. Thereupon the Dutch sent a peremptory order to quit the bay, which the Frenchman disregarded.

Meanwhile the envoy sent to Kandy returned with two disāwas and a numerous suite, and on 8th May a
392. TREATY WITH FRENCH treaty was drawn up between the French and Rājāsinha, giving the French the ports of Trincomalie, Koṭṭiyār, and Batticaloa. But the king's men did not

bring provisions for the French fleet, and the admiral sent a man named de la Narolle to Kandy to press for provisions. This messenger, unaccustomed to diplomacy, acted so arrogantly at court that the king beat him and clapped him in chains. Meanwhile the fleet was badly in need of victuals and set sail for India, leaving a garrison in the fort. As soon as the fleet sailed away, the Dutch besieged the fort, and though a general of Rājasingha routed the first advance of the Dutch troops, the garrison had to surrender on the explicit understanding that the surrender was not to affect their rights to the fort. The Dutch took the French captives for exhibition from port to port as the miserable remnants of the French fleet.

CHAPTER XVII.

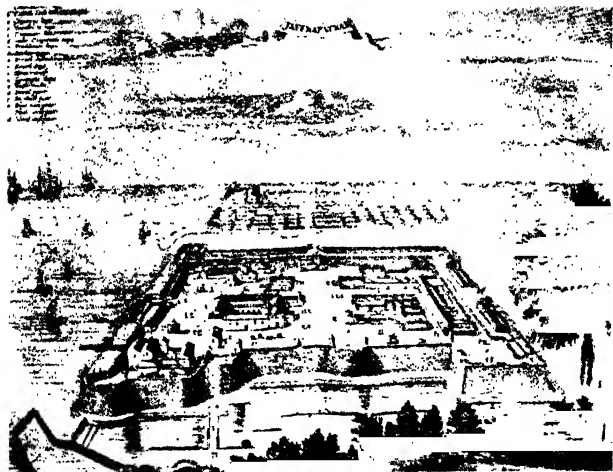
RAJASINHA, II 1658-1687. (*Contd.*)

I.

DEALINGS WITH THE DUTCH

As soon as the Dutch became masters of Jaffna they repaired the damage done to the fort and placed

393. JAFFNA the country under the charge of
UNDER THE Jacob van Rhee as factor till
COMPANY better arrangements were made for
its administration. The Dutch troops were despatched
to India to continue the operations against the
Portuguese, leaving a small garrison consisting mostly



Jaffna Fort

of the Portuguese captives who had taken service under the Company. At this time Don Luis of Mannār plotted with the Portuguese to fall upon the Dutch

officers in church on a Sunday and thus become masters of the fort. But a Sinhalese mudaliyar, named Manoel de Andrado, happened to be present in church on the appointed day with his men and thus the plot was thwarted.

But when van Rhee made enquiries and secured all those who were alleged to have had a hand in it, some were hanged, others beheaded, and the ringleaders were laid upon the wheel and received a stroke with an axe in the breast and were dismembered and the heart laid upon the mouth. Among those butchered in this way was a Jesuit who had been prevented by infirmity from quitting Jaffna and who had come to know of the plot under the seal of the confessional; and though he had nothing to do with it and had not even approved of it, he was accused of not having revealed it. The Dutch were convinced that Rājasinha also had a hand in it, and the brutality of the punishment was partly intended to instil terror into the people.

From the time they seized Colombo, Rājasinha had not ceased to harass the Dutch. He forbade trade with them, ordered the people to quit the lands occupied by them, and destroyed the crops. But when his own people plotted against him, he forgot the wrongs of the Company and even wrote to them to help him to punish the traitors. Thus when van der Meyden attacked Navakaddu and drove his men away, destroyed the stockade, and seized and fortified Kalpiṭiya, he took no notice of the event. When van Goens soon afterwards wrote to conciliate him, he was pleased and asked an ambassador to come up. Frans van den Berg was accordingly sent, but the king detained him and did not let him return. The governor,

394. EXECUTIONS

395. DUTCH AMBASSADORS DETAINED

however, granted the king free trade at Kalpitiya, but the Batavian authorities were afraid that it would lead to smuggling and recommended the reoccupation. On hearing that the English were attempting to communicate with the king, the Dutch seized Koṭṭiyar, extended their frontiers and, posting guards, sent Hendrick Draak to conciliate the king. Draak too was detained.

In 1664, however, Rājasinha wrote to the Dutch to ask their assistance against the domestic traitors
396. DUTCH requesting them to protect Trin-
ANNEX TERRI- comalie, Koṭṭiyār, and Batti-
TORY caloa. This the Dutch looked upon as a godsend, and immediately took possession of 15 kōralēs and erected forts on the frontiers at Bibilegama, Ruanwella, and Sabaragamuwa, occupied Chilaw over and above the eastern ports. The Batavian authorities were very uneasy at these annexations, but governor van Goens urged his policy and had his way; and the king was granted some taxes to make up for the loss of trade resulting from the deviation of the king's trade from Kalpitiya to Colombo by the occupation of Ruanwella. The Dutch gained thereby and the pearl fishery and elephant kraals were held with success and profit to the Company.

In his anger with the people, the king was even pleased to see the Dutch in possession of his lands, and to show them favour, he even
397. KING communicated to them the letters
COMPLACENT he had received from the British agent at Madras. This was apparently also intended to rouse the jealousy of the Company, for the king at the same time sent an ambassador to the English. This ambassador was captured at Kalpitiya and the governor began to distrust the marks of the king's

friendship. Yet they did not cease to make hay while the sun shone, and profited by the respite to open roads to Kalpiṭiya through Chilaw and to Batticaloa along the coast via Hambantota. This was explained to the king as a necessary precaution against the machinations of the English.

When Rājāsinha succeeded in reasserting his power at home, he again commenced hostilities against the Dutch and attacked the fron-

398. HOSTILITIES tiers, forcing the Company to withdraw its forces and try to pacify the king by granting free trade not only in Koṭṭiyār, Batticaloa, and Trincomalie, but even in Galle and Colombo. Undeterred by these favours, the king seized Arrandara, which made the Dutch retaliate by closing Batticaloa, Koṭṭiyar, Trincomalie, and Kalpiṭiya. This told heavily on the chiefs who therefore came on a mission to Colombo and invited the governor to send an embassy asking for the release of the Dutch prisoners. The ambassadors sent so far had all been detained and no one was willing to go. At last a blustering soldier named Henry Bystervelt undertook to go to remonstrate with the king. Bystervelt escaped detention and returned to Colombo to report that the king was as good as besieged by his chiefs.

II.

THE KANDYAN CHIEFS

It was the chiefs, who had now gained influence in the country, that met and dealt with the French at Trincomalie, and gifted to them

399. POWER OF CHIEFS the ports already held by the Dutch. (392) They did not realize that the Frenchman's greatest need was victuals for the fleet, and in spite of the disāwas' attempt to help the French fort, it was captured by the Dutch, who also

extended their frontiers to Sītāwaka and Iddangoda and drove out the king's forces from Matara.

But in 1675 the king's forces again besieged Bibilegama and captured the garrison, attacked Ruanwella and harassed the frontiers of Mātara and Jaffna. The Dutch then recalled their garrisons

400. FRESH HOSTILITIES and strengthened the forts of Kalpiṭiya, Jaffna, and Aripo. The king himself threatened Malwāna, but Tennekōn, the disāwa of the Seven Kōralēs, deserted to the Dutch with his followers, (382) whereupon the king withdrew and destroyed the traitor's kith and kin. Tennekōn wished to retain his disāwani and instigated the people to offer to come under Dutch protection if their disāwa was retained. The governor cautiously accepted the proffered submission, as the principality of the Seven Kōralēs was well known for its cinnamon, and the frontiers were again extended to Sītāwaka and Dungaha.

But the authorities at Batavia took alarm, as annexation of territory always meant war which entailed expense and loss, and sent an order to the governor to restore to Rājasinha all the lands occupied since 1665. The governor, therefore, wrote to the king offering to restore the Seven and Three Kōralēs. Rājasinha preferred to recover them himself rather than accept the lands as a concession from the Company and sent his men to spoil, burn, and destroy the lands, forcing the Dutch to evacuate Sītāwaka.

The council of Colombo then opened negotiations with the courtiers of Rājasinha. They accepted the communication and hinted that the king would be pleased if the Company sent him some horses.

402. COMPANY NEGOTIATES WITH THE CHIEFS Horses were accordingly procured and sent with a letter, but meanwhile Ambanwela

Rāla, who had been sent to the Dutch to be punished, but whom the Dutch had entertained in the hope of using him against the king, escaped to Kandy, and a number of disāwas appeared on the frontiers, committing hostilities and forbidding the people to supply provisions to the Dutch. Thus when the horses appeared on the frontiers there was no one to receive them.

Laurens Pyl succeeded van Goens in 1680 and resolved to send an ambassador to Rājasinha with many presents to ask for peace and the release of prisoners and ambassadors. Sergeant Mierop

403. EMBASSY OF MIEROP

was accordingly despatched with two white lions, three tigers, twelve musk-cats, all carried in very neat cages lined with green velvet, two black Persian horses covered likewise with green velvet, and twenty falcons. The letter was carried by the ambassador on a silver tray and over him was a canopy borne by four Sinhalese noblemen. But Mierop did not go beyond Ampē. The disāwa of the Seven Kōralēs impeded the peeling of cinnamon, and hostilities were indulged in on the frontiers, though the king continued to profess friendship.

The Dutch now came to hear that Rājasinha had taken to opium in his old age and that the hostilities

404. DOTAGE OF RAJASINHA

were due to the chiefs who were very hostile to them and prevented the ambassadors from having access to the king. Two other ambassadors were now despatched from Batavia with a very conciliatory letter, but they fared no better than the previous ambassadors and were detained at Ampē. The chiefs continued their raids on lands occupied by the Company and sent orders to the Dutch officers in charge of the frontier stations to deliver them up. The Dutch

feared an attack, but Mierop who had succeeded in reaching the capital announced that the king was willing to receive the presents that were still at Sītāwaka. Capt. Adam Slegt was then despatched with a large escort of 800 men, ostensibly to protect the presents, but in reality because a large number of chiefs were said to be at Ampē. These chiefs confiscated the cinnamon which the Company was peeling in the Negombo district. A message was conveyed to Governor Pyl that peeling cinnamon in that district was an offence, but if the Dutch wanted cinnamon, the king would send a quantity to Colombo. This offer was accepted with profuse thanks, and the king sent cinnamon in spite of the opposition of the chiefs.

In this way the courtiers of Kandy accustomed the Dutch to send embassies to Kandy, and when that was done, peeling was allowed.

405. DIPLOMACY OF CHIEFS

The idea was to force the Company to recognize that they had no right to the cinnamon, and that the lands belonged to the king. Their intention was to reoccupy the lands, and in 1684 the chiefs actually occupied the frontiers of Mātara and the Lewayas and Sabaragamuwa without violence, and four of their number came to Colombo on a visit of ceremony merely to announce that the king was in good health and to inquire after the health of the governor. The king was now ageing, and the courtiers were gaining power. Great changes and revolutions were expected on the king's death, and the Company thought it prudent not to offend the chiefs, but to take precautions for the defence of Colombo. Hanwella, Negombo, and Kalutara, the three forts that defended Colombo, were accordingly reconstructed and well garrisoned.

In 1686 the high priest of Kandy came on a visit of ceremony and was received with great pomp and magnificence. His influence was great and his friendship would be of great use to the Company in case of a revolution. The governor, therefore, tried to sound his dispositions towards the Company and inquired about the prospects of a lasting peace and the release of the Dutch prisoners. On his return to Kandy there was a talk of liberating all Dutch prisoners, and after an exchange of compliments with the chiefs, the Dutch prisoners were at last liberated in 1687.

**406. MAHA
NAYAKA OF
KANDY**

Thus the diplomacy of the chiefs proved more successful than that of the king. They gradually reduced the Company to acknowledge the king's rights to the lands. The next step was to force the Company to acknowledge that they were but the servants of the king. The opportunity for this arose when Pyl left Ceylon for Negapatam without informing the king, to confer with the commissary Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede. Immediately Mattangoda Chetty was sent to ask Pyl to return, and a message was sent by the Mahā Nilame to Colombo to the same effect. Pyl who had gone to discuss the question of a proposed peace with Rājasinha, thought it prudent to hasten his return. He and the commissary had agreed that the restoration of the lands to the king would mean the destruction of the monopoly of cinnamon and that therefore the forts should not be given up on any account. Some urged that the Company should hold the lands in defiance of the king and claim them boldly as theirs by right of conquest from the Portuguese or at least by right of long possession.

**407. RISE OF
THE NOBLES**

It was felt that Batticaloa would be difficult to keep, but that it was very necessary to prevent other nations from occupying it. Trincomalie they meant to claim as part of the kingdom of Jaffna. These proposals were put to the courtiers of Kandy when they came on embassy; but they refused even to listen to them.

III.

THE END OF RAJASINHA

In December Rājasinha died at Hanguranketa, and an ambassador arrived in Colombo to announce the event. The governor decided to make a great demonstration of sorrow and honour, although he had been told by one of the foremost men of Kandy not to grieve over the old tyrant. On the 23rd December the funeral was celebrated in Colombo with great magnificence. The troops in full mourning, with muskets reversed and pikes trailing, headed the procession, while mounted sailors bearing the king's arms—a red lion on a gold field—escorted the king's standard borne on chargers fully draped in black. A state carriage drawn by six horses bore the king's arms, followed by the sword of sovereignty and the crown and sceptre, each laid on a silver tray and carried on cushions under a canopy. The governor followed in state, accompanied by the king's ambassador and followed by the members of the political council, the officials, and the public. The procession wended its way to the church where the regalia reposed the whole day guarded by lighted torches.

Rājasinha was a man of middle size, very well set, but more than ordinarily dark of complexion, with large rolling eyes, somewhat bald of head, but with a comely beard and long whiskers. His apparel was fantastic and of his own designing. On his head

408. DEATH OF RAJASINHA

409. PERSONAL APPEARANCE



Rajasinha II.

he wore a four-cornered cap, like a biretta, but three tiers high, and with an upright feather in front. His sword with a gold hilt, sheathed in a scabbard of beaten gold, hung from a belt over his shoulder. In his hand he carried a cane painted in diverse colours with a head of gold and the lower end set in gems. His doublet was a fanciful one with long sleeves; the breeches reached to his ankles, and he wore shoes and stockings.

He was temperate and abstemious in diet, deliberate in his actions, though he never took counsel. Of animals he was exceedingly fond
410. CHARACTER and loved horses and riding and was wont to fly hawks, and feed fishes with his own hand. He was, moreover, a good shot and an expert swimmer. His bearing was proud and haughty, and he brooked no opposition. Vain, crafty, but cautious and a great dissembler, he was inconstant in his likes, jealous of honour, and as pitiless in punishment as he was exacting in service. He made but small profession of the religion of the country and did not persecute Christians but rather esteemed Christianity.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WIMALADHARMA SURIYA II, 1687—1706

I.

GROWING RESISTANCE TO THE DUTCH

Rājasinha was succeeded by his son, a gentle young man, bred in the privacy of a temple and secluded from political strife, who had never
411. NEW KING appeared before his subjects from the time of the rebellion of 1664 when he was a boy in his teens. (397) He was therefore quite a novice in statecraft and was guided by the chiefs and the monks, to the great benefit of his country and subjects who were thus not only able to live in peace and prosperity, but even to recover the prestige which had dwindled during the last years of Rājasinha.

The accession of Wimaladharma Sūriya was duly announced and celebrated in Colombo. An embassy of chiefs soon arrived in Colombo
412. NEW POLICY with letters to the governor. One of the letters contained an implicit announcement of the king's assumption of the sovereignty of the territories under Dutch rule. The letter declared that he had granted the village of Weligama to a basnāyaka in the employ of the Dutch. Weligama was in Dutch territory, and the governor pointed out that such a grant was an insult to the Company. The Company, he said, was not a subject of the king but an ally : the debt owing to them had not yet been paid : Rājasinha had permitted them to peel cinnamon in the Pitigal Kōralē, but the new king's men had prevented it. The courtiers then asked what the governor proposed to do with the royal grant. He said it would be deposited in the archives. They asked that it be handed to the

basnāyaka. To escape the importunity, the governor consented and handed the grant to the basnāyaka having previously made him promise to return it to the secretary. Thus the first diplomatic battle ended in a draw in favour of the courtiers.

The envoys then promised permission to peel cinnamon in Pitigal Kōralē and asked that the Company should convey to Ceylon a Buddhist high priest from Pegu to restore upasampadā ordination in Kandy. This was willingly granted. They then asked for free trade at Puttalam and that the Company should transport 500 packages of cinnamon for the king. The governor demurred and requested that the king should sell his cinnamon and areca to them. It became quite clear to the Dutch that the courtiers of the new king were a power to be reckoned with, and that they were bent on demanding Trincomalie, Kottiyār, Batticaloa, and Kalpiṭiya.

Soon the first adigār himself came to Colombo in state attended by a large suite and formally demanded the restoration of the lands seized since 1665 and the freedom of the ports. The lands they had once offered to restore, (401) but having changed their policy, they were not disposed to do so now. The governor, therefore, reminded the adigār of the debt, which silenced the chief for the time.

And so in 1688 the political council proposed to enter into a treaty with the king. Van Rhee de was opposed to the surrender of Batticaloa, Trincomalie, or Kalpiṭiya, but was willing to give the king's ships passports for navigation and to discuss terms regarding the monopoly of cinnamon and areca. The

413. DEMAND

414. FIRST ADIGAR

415. PROPOSED TREATY

secretary, Claas Abelos, was chosen to present the draft treaty to the courtiers. He was directed to show no timidity nor grant any concessions, but to state with firmness that the Company was determined to keep the seaboard at any cost.

The governor's plan was to hold the lands seized since 1662 until the debt was paid. (355) This much

**416. THE DEBT
TO THE
COMPANY**

talked-of debt was never calculated so far, the bill never presented, the items never discussed, and the amount, whatever it was, never likely to be paid. To ask payment therefore was tantamount to asking for the absolute possession of the lands in liquidation of the debt. The ambassador who presented the proposal to court returned without effecting anything and without obtaining the release of the Dutch prisoners still detained.

In January 1688 the new king was formally crowned and the coronation fitly celebrated in Colombo. A

**417. ANNUAL
EMBASSY**

mohottīār came to Colombo and the Company was granted permission to obtain cinnamon from the king's territories, provided an envoy was sent each year before the beginning of the cinnamon season. Abelos was then sent with a draft treaty of which the chief terms were :

1. That the Company should retain peaceful possession of the lands and ports then occupied by the Dutch,

**418. TERMS OF
PROPOSED
TREATY**

until the debt was paid, or that the territory be ceded ; 2. That there should be free trade between the allies, without taxes, tribute, or excise ; and that cinnamon, pepper, wax, and ivory should not be sold except to the Company ; 3. That all foreign nations, such as the English, French, Danes, or Germans, be kept out of

the king's ports ; 4. That the Company should be permitted to gather cinnamon from the king's lands, in return for which the Company would send an annual present ; 5. That no Roman Catholics, monks or priests, be allowed to settle within the king's domains.

The ambassador was directed to discuss the treaty with the king's courtiers, who denied that the king owed the Dutch any debt, and roundly charged the Company with having violated the treaty, retaining Colombo against the promise, not dividing the spoils as promised, of having attacked the king's camp, and finally of having enjoyed the income of the lowlands all this time, thereby obtaining more than the Company ever spent to drive out the Portuguese.

419. DENIAL OF DEBT

This was turning the tables with a vengeance, and Abelos could only say that the income from the low-country was not one thousandth part of the expenses. He gathered, however, from the discourse of the courtiers that they had no copies of the treaties that had been made with Rājasinha. The king put off the discussion and sent the ambassador back without much ceremony and announced that he was himself coming to the lowlands for a personal interview with His Majesty's well-beloved and trusty governor of Colombo.

420. TABLES TURNED

Things were taking a pretty bad turn for the Company, and the governor excused himself from the interview on the ground that he could not quit his territory. Orders were given to evacuate the mountain

421. EVACUATION OF TERRITORY

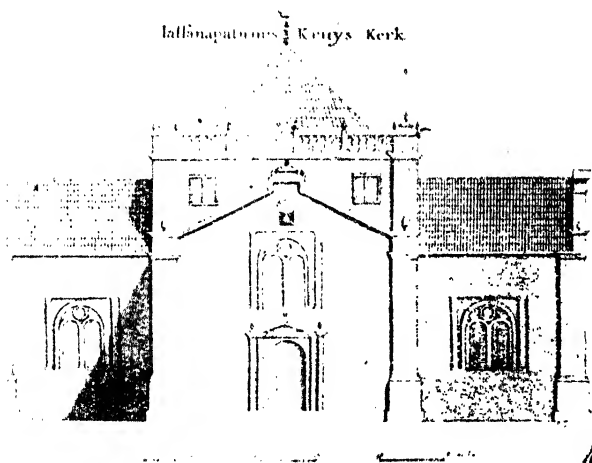
kōralēs, which were promptly occupied by disāwas nominated by the king. The Company's subjects on the east coast refused to pay taxes, and Pyl determined to take his stand, not on the debt, but on the right of conquest.

II.

RELIGIOUS POLICY OF THE COMPANY

When the Dutch assumed the administration, the lowlands were inhabited by Buddhists, Hindus, Catholics, and Mohammedans. But the Company professed the special form of Christianity prevailing in their mother country and sought to make all the people

422. PERSECUTION OF CATHOLICS



Dutch Church, Jaffna

of the island conform to the religion of the Reformed Church of Holland. For this purpose they first of all passed an edict against Catholicism, seized the Catholic churches and schools, expelled Catholic priests under pain of death, and forced all Catholics to come to the Dutch kirk for baptism and marriage, to send the children to be instructed in the Dutch religion and to bury the dead according to the rites of the Dutch Church. This special hatred of Catholics was due to

the fear they entertained that the Catholic religion was a bond of sympathy between the Sinhalese and the Portuguese. For this reason they had proscribed the Portuguese religion in 1659 and ordered all slaves to study the Dutch language under pain of having their heads shorn. This thoughtless *plakaat* could not well be enforced, and by an irony of time the Portuguese language soon became the home language of the Dutch descendants themselves. And "notwithstanding every persecution, the Catholic religion was openly professed by the descendants of the Portuguese, who were in consequence reduced to misery and degradation, and by large numbers of Sinhalese and Tamils whom neither corruption nor coercion could force to abjure it."

Very soon a heroic band of priests from abroad came to the rescue of the Catholics. The foremost of these was Father Joseph Vaz, a Konkani Brahmin of Goa and member of the Congregation of the Oratory of Goa. After great hardships he eluded the Dutch guards, reached Jaffna in disguise in 1689, and began secretly to minister to his fellow Catholics in the district. But on Christmas night, 1690, while he was getting ready to say Mass in a private house, the Dutch commander made a raid, dispersed the crowd and arrested, scourged, and imprisoned eight of the prominent Catholics for harbouring a priest. Father Vaz, whom they could not seize, soon realized the difficulty of carrying on his work safely within Dutch territory and decided to seek the protection of the king of Kandy.

He came to Puttlam which was in the king's domains and made his way to the interior. At Wēudda he was denounced as a spy and taken prisoner to Kandy, where after some time he succeeded in gaining the king's veneration and favour. The church of Kandy became his headquarters,

**423 FATHER
JOSEPH VAZ**

**424. OBTAINS
KING'S PROTEC-
TION**

from which he visited Chilaw, Negombo, Colombo, Kalutara, Ratnapura, Sitāwaka, and other places, fleeing into the Kandyan kingdom whenever the Dutch attempted to seize his person. His appeals brought many other priests to his aid, and the Catholics of Ceylon began to look up to the kings of Kandy as their protectors.

Towards the Buddhists and the Hindus the Dutch attempted a similar course. They tried to impose the

**425. PERSECUTION OF
BUDDHISM**

Dutch religion on all and sundry by forbidding the exercise of the Buddhist religion within their territory by legislation and by obliging all the subjects of the Company to attend the catechism schools and receive baptism and be married according to the Dutch rite, and above all by refusing any office under the Dutch government except to those who conformed to their religion. The people soon came to realize that little more was expected of them than to submit to certain ceremonies at stated times. Baptism and marriage in the Dutch church was nothing more than registration of birth and marriage, and those who wished to be mudaliyars or ārachchis found no difficulty in submitting passively to a harmless ceremony, as the exercise of their religion in private was not interfered with. Thus the Dutch Church counted thousands upon thousands of converts, without the trouble and expense of supplying an adequate number of clergymen.

The clergymen of whom there were seldom more than a dozen, were scandalized to find that their

**426. NOMINAL
CONVERTS**

converts continued to practise their own religion in private, and called upon the Company to pass edicts against the free exercise of religion and to forbid the erection of temples. These edicts could not easily be

enforced ; but when the Company sought to make friends with the king of Kandy and even assisted him to obtain Buddhist priests from Pegu, the people sought the aid of the king.

Accordingly an embassy arrived in Colombo in 1688 to demand the free exercise of religion and the restoration of the temples. This was an embarrassing demand. The Company did not dare to displease the king or the mahā nāyaka who had shown them favour. On the other hand the Dutch clergy were greatly opposed to any concession. The governor therefore pleaded for time, while the clergy appealed to the home country to enforce the decrees. The request was subsequently refused on orders from Holland, but the state of affairs continued to be the same.

III.

THE KING'S TRADE

The king's ambassadors also pressed for the opening of the ports for the king's trade, which too the Company was not prepared to give. Thereupon the courtiers equipped a ship laden with areca and endeavoured to pass Kalpiṭiya, flying the king's flag, namely a red lion on a white field. The ship was detained, but this only made the king demand the restoration of all the ports, leaving only the forts to the Company. The governor retorted by demanding the payment of the debt and declared that the Company would never give up the lands.

Rumours then brought the tidings that the king was preparing for war, and the Company, which dreaded the expense and loss such a course would entail, issued passports to a ship flying the king's flag, but as the rumours turned out to be false, they detained the

427. DEMAND FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

428. CONTEST FOR FREE TRADE

429. RUMOURS OF WAR

other ships that were attempting to do the same or bring cloth to the Kandyan kingdom. These events, however, did not prevent the Company from sending the annual present to the king, as that was necessary to obtain permission to collect cinnamon. The king too granted the permission, though he at times disdained to receive the presents.

Wimaladharma was sincerely anxious to be at peace with the Company and on more than one occasion sent

**430. DISPOSITION
OF KING**

back to the Dutch those who had fled to his kingdom to escape the customary services. When Governor Pyl desired to resign and return home, the king asked him to continue in office, a course to which he consented under the impression that he was especially acceptable to the king, while as a matter of fact his weakness had emboldened the courtiers in their demands.

Thomas van Rhee who succeeded Pyl continued the policy of not offending the king. The success of this

**431. VAN RHEE,
1692-1697**

policy was so great that he was able to get more cinnamon than was needed and was actually obliged to burn part of the harvest to prevent a fall in the price by overstocking the market. The pearl fishery too was held after an interval, and brought much profit to the Company. This led the Company to try to drop all intention of a treaty as a dangerous subject, and to continue to reap the benefits of a peace unrestricted by treaty obligations.

The Company was finally obliged to give in and opened the ports of Kalpiṭiya, Koṭṭiyār, Trincomalie, and Batticaloa to the king, and in

**432. OPENING
OF PORTS**

1697 the Company supplied the king with a vessel to bring his bride from Tanjore. The five Kandyan ambassadors

and two high priests and 34 ordinary priests returned from Pegu in 1697 and were maintained in Colombo at the Company's expense till the king of Kandy ordered them to return.

IV.

OTHER EVENTS

The governor noticed an increase of leprosy in Dutch territory and sought to segregate the sufferers in a hospital. But the authorities to

433. LEPROSY whom the suggestion was made, recoiled at the cost and directed the governor to build one if possible out of the charitable funds of the deaconry, which were scarcely sufficient for its own purpose. He therefore issued a *plakaat* forbidding lepers to show themselves in the streets and requiring them to live outside the town.

After five years rule in peace and tranquillity, van Rhee handed over the government to Gerrit de Heere in

434. GERRIT DE HEERE 1697. The change of governors made no change in the harmonious relations with the court. The king

1697-1702 permitted the Company to gather cinnamon even from Balana. The king's courtiers pressed the governor to present the draft treaty for discussion, but he was unwilling to assume any obligations so long as things went on well without them. The authorities had warned the governor to be very circumspect in the terms of address used towards the king. The expressions "servants of His Majesty" "His Majesty's forts" and others of the kind were ordered to be dropped in future as prejudicial to the interests of the Company and likely to become a stumbling block in future negotiations. Polite and flattering terms and costly presents were highly recommended, as they seemed to be much appreciated.

However the Company soon began to notice that the opening of the ports led to a great diminution of

**435. EFFECTS
OF FREE
TRADE**

trade in the Company's ports. From the king's country there came very little areca, nor was there any demand in Colombo for salt, cotton goods, and other things, for Kandy. It was stated that the king had issued a proclamation calling upon his subjects to go to Puttlam for trade and in fact the *kadavat* or thorn-gates leading to and from the kingdom were guarded to prevent any transgression of the king's orders. This led to a scarcity of provisions in Colombo. At this time Gerrit de Heere died, and the political council assumed the government.

The chief adigār arrived in Colombo to express the king's sorrow for the death of Heere, and the *kadavat*

**436. JOHANNES
SIMONS
1703-1707**

were opened, greatly relieving the scarcity of provisions in Colombo. The Company, however, tried to divert trade into its ports by directing the Dutch in Choromandel and Malabar not to issue passports except to Colombo, Galfe, and Jaffna. This news was conveyed to the king as one of the steps necessary to protect themselves from the French with whom they were at war.

The administration of Simons is best known for two institutions of different kinds: the leper asylum and the Tesawalamai. On the

**437. LEPER
ASYLUM**

reports of the surgeons, the necessity for an asylum was pressed on the authorities and they finally consented to its erection at government expense. The site chosen was Hendela on the Kēlany River and the hospital cost nearly double the sum granted by the Company. As soon as it was completed, the governor issued a proclamation ordering all those infected with the disease to give

information and forbidding lepers to come into the Fort or Pettah under pain of being whipped away by Caffirs.

Governor Simons was also responsible for the *Thēsawalamai* or the compendium of the customary laws of the Tamils. Being a jurist, Simons felt that the customs of the people of Jaffna regarding marriage

**438. THESA -
WALAMAI**

inheritance, purchase, loans, mortgages, slaves, and the like, should be recorded in writing for the use of courts and judges. For this purpose he instructed the disāwa of Jaffna, a man of great experience who had spent thirty years in the island, to inquire into and record the customs of the people. When the work was done, it was given to twelve mudaliyars for their opinion, and when confirmed by them, was promulgated by the governor.

On June 4, 1706, Wimaladharma died at Kandy after a peaceful and prosperous reign of nearly twenty

**439. DEATH OF
WIMALADHRMA
SURIYA II.**

years. He was a mild and benignant ruler, zealous for the welfare of religion, but very tolerant of faiths other than his own. He observed the customary constitution of the kingdom and sought the advice of the nobles and chief priests in all matters of importance. The peaceful relations with the Company enabled his subjects to cultivate their lands and the nobles to profit by trade, and even the Dutch to collect cinnamon and trade undisturbed.

During his reign, the chiefs established their power and influence and were employed by him frequently in his negotiations with the Dutch.

**440. PROSPEROUS
REIGN**

He embellished his capital and erected a three-storied Daladā Maligāwa, reformed the abuse of temple lands becoming

hereditary, and restored Upasampadā ordination by obtaining priests from Siam. He showed great favour and benevolence to Father Vaz and the other Catholic priests labouring in the island and living in his territory. His peaceful policy bore fruit and he was able to assert his rights and obtain the opening of the ports for trade. Thus he was by far the most successful ruler of Kandy, and in his time the kingdom enjoyed freedom from wars and invasions for the first time after a century.

CHAPTER XIX.

SRI VIRA NARENDRA SINHA, 1706—1739

I.

CONTEST FOR FREE TRADE

Sri Vira Parākrama Narēndra Sinha, or Kundesālē, as he was popularly known from the name of his residential palace, succeeded to the throne on the death of his father Wimaladharma. He was a young man of seventeen years of age, and a faction in Kandy attempted to place an older candidate on the throne. But the supporters of Kundesālē frustrated the plot, seized and executed the ringleaders of the faction, and the new king assumed the sword of state with the customary ceremonies.

The Dutch Company profiting by the illness and death of the king and the troubles of his successor, closed the ports against the king's subjects. Closing the ports meant that the king's subjects must sell the produce of their lands to the Company and buy the cotton and piece goods they needed from the Company. At first this did not seem to affect the king's subjects as they were able to obtain from the Company nearly the same prices as from the Muslim traders. But now the governor sought to enforce more stringent rules and deprive the king and the nobles of the large profits they gained by the sale of goods for which no custom dues were paid. The governor had been ordered to do this some years earlier, but the fear of offending Wimaladharma had hitherto prevented him from carrying out the instructions fully. Now, seeing that the

441. ACCESSION OF NARENDRA SINHA

442. CLOSURE OF PORTS

king was new and inexperienced, they closed the ports effectively. Till the king was firmly seated on his throne, no steps were taken against this measure, and friendly relations continued between the king and the Company and the usual embassies were sent every year to ask permission to peel cinnamon in the king's lands and to transport elephants to Jaffna through the king's territories.

But in 1712 the king and his courtiers instigated by the lowland chiefs, as the Dutch believed, began to demand the opening of the ports.

443. CLOSURE OF demand the opening of the ports.
KADAVAT IN The governor replied that it was
RETALIATION beyond his power, as the measure had been carried out on the orders of the supreme government of Batavia. The Dutch ambassador of 1713, Major Willem Hendrik de Bevere, behaved insolently at court, and the Company promptly apologized and arrested and deported the major. The apology was accepted, but the king's council decided to retaliate by closing the gravets. The word 'gravet' is a corruption of the Sinhalese *Kadawat* or thorn-gates erected at the frontiers. All roads leading from the Dutch territories to the Kandyan kingdom had a *kadawata* or frontier watch post. The closing of the gravets therefore meant that the king's subjects were forbidden to take the produce of their lands to the Dutch settlements. In spite of this retaliatory measure, the usual embassies were exchanged, and the king even promised to open the gravets when the ambassador asked him for it. His intention was, however, to open them in case the Dutch opened the ports. As this was not done, the king again sent a formal demand and ordered the gravets to be opened. This had no effect on the Company, for the orders of Batavia were to close the ports never to be opened.

The king's courtiers thereupon invited the Indian merchants to bring cloth and piece goods to the king's territories on the coast north of Kalpiṭiya, and forbade the transport of the Company's letters through the king's lands. The Company then reinforced the garrisons of Kalpiṭiya and Aripo and ordered a sloop to cruise about the coast and intercept trading ships. The king's courtiers permitted the divers to fish for pearls off the coast, to assert the king's claims to the pearl banks. Yet the king abstained from interfering in a quarrel which the cinnamon peelers had against the Company, though he permitted the courtiers to forbid the transport of letters from Trincomalie to Batticaloa or Jaffna through his territories or to sell paddy to the Company. All these actions, which aimed at forcing the Company to comply with his demand for the opening of the ports, remained ineffectual, and the king and his courtiers decided to be more aggressive.

**444. OTHER
RETALIATORY
MEASURES**

The closing of the gravets was more stringently enforced and the people publicly forbidden to trade with the Company. At Mābōle, Pass Betal, and Nakalagam, gravets were set up as a sign that the roads were closed, and an embassy was sent to Colombo to complain against the damage caused by the closure of the ports. The Company in its turn asked for the opening of the gravets. The first adigār replied that gravets would remain closed till the port of Puttlam was opened to the king's trade. The governor returned the usual reply that it was beyond his power, but offered to buy the king's areca at a higher price. This was accepted, but the gravets remained closed.

**445. TRADE
FORBIDDEN**

Then there began a series of petty rebellions against the Company which the Dutch believed to have been instigated by the king's officers.

446. REBELLIONS

The people of the Hīna Kōralē and Mātara rose in mutiny which soon spread to other parts. The peelers of cinnamon refused to work and fled to the king's territories, and the people of the Three Kōralēs, Galle, Mātara, Salpiti, Raiagam, and Hewāgam Kōralēs refused to obey the Company unless they were ordered to do so by the king. The Company realized that its subjects looked up to the king as their liege lord, and as the cinnamon trade was in jeopardy, a humble request was sent to the king, but the king declined to intervene, hoping that the Company would be obliged to open the ports.

The Dutch governor tried to win the peelers by satisfying all their demands and abolishing the taxes.

Some were won over by this means, but others became more aggressive and attacked the Company's servants. A detachment of troops was sent against the rebels without any effect. More concessions were made and some more peelers were persuaded to return to work, but the majority remained obdurate, and the Company was forced to ask for troops from Batavia to make a military demonstration to overawe the rebels. The revolt meanwhile spread fast, and the insurgents issued a proclamation that 'the king had once more resumed the lands, freeing the inhabitants from any obligation to the Company.'

447. CONCESSIONS TO PEELERS

Hoping to stem the rising, the governor despatched some commissioners to expostulate with the rebels and if unsuccessful to use

448. HOSTILITIES

force. Force had to be resorted to, and a detachment of soldiers pulled down the *kadavat* and encamped at Malwāna and Attanagala. The latter place was soon overpowered, and the garrison fled to Malwāna, leaving the artillery. Malwāna was next beset and razed to the ground and the rebels marched towards Colombo, destroying the Company's property. In these operations they were led by the disāwas of the Four and Seven Kōralēs, and the Dutch tried to bribe them to disperse the men and even offered an amnesty to the insurgents. This had no effect, and the Hapitagam, Hina, and Atakalan Kōralēs declared they were under the king's protection.

Such was the state of affairs, when Gustaaf Willem Baron van Imhoff arrived in Ceylon as governor. He

**449. CHANGE OF
POLICY**

soon felt that it was very much better for the Company to attempt to win the people by even a temporary abolition of taxes and by cultivating the friendship of the king. This was more successful, and peelers returned to work, and the king granted permission to peel cinnamon in his lands. The governor sent an embassy with valuable presents, and the king in the last embassy that he was destined to receive denied that he or any of his disāwas had anything to do with the rebellions in Dutch territory. The governor, thereupon, caused this statement to be publicly proclaimed in order to give the lie to the rebels who claimed that they were acting under the protection of the king. Thus in spite of many attempts on both sides to bring about the opening of the ports and the gravets, neither party succeeded in the lifetime of Narēndra Sinha.

II.

RELIGION AND LITERATURE

Narēndra Sinha, like his father, showed great favour to the Catholic priests, especially to Father Joseph Vaz, whom the Catholics of Ceylon still venerate as the great churchman responsible for the Catholic revival. The priests who made regular visits to Dutch territories in secret to minister to the persecuted Catholics, placed themselves under the king's protection and fled to his territories whenever the Dutch authorities sought to arrest them. Encouraged by the presence of their priests, the Catholics now determined to stand up for their rights. Thus when a proclamation was issued calling upon them to attend the Dutch Reformed Church and send their children to be instructed in the tenets of that Church, two hundred heads of families presented a petition, stating that they could not do this in conscience and asking to be permitted to have churches and priests of their own.

The governor, suspecting the presence of a priest, caused him to be hunted in the city, but failing to lay hands on him, held a meeting of the political council on 18th January 1707 and ordered the arrest of five of the leaders and imposed a fine of 500 patacas on all the petitioners. Similar petitions were presented in all other Dutch towns, which the Company ignored, and *plakaats* were issued forbidding public or even private assemblies of Catholics, the christening of children by Catholic priests and giving lodgings to priests. These were measures taken merely to terrify the people and were seldom enforced.

**450. CATHOLIC
AGITATIONS****451. ARREST OF
LEADING
CATHOLICS**

Meanwhile the venerable Father Vaz set aside one of his seven companions to create a Sinhalese Catholic literature. And so it was that Father Jacome Goncalves produced a number of doctrinal and devotional books which were copied by scribes and spread over the country. Being a Konkani Brahmin whose mother tongue was akin to Sinhalese, he wrote with great facility, and his compositions are still read for their purity of diction and elegance. On the death of Father Vaz at Kandy in 1711, the headquarters of the mission were transferred from Kandy to the king's port of Puttalam for the facility of apostolic expeditions into Dutch territory.

The Company in its turn set up a printing press in Colombo, and in 1739 cast Sinhalese and Tamil type.

453. RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

The Gospels were translated from the Dutch by a committee of Sinhalese pandits under the supervision of clergymen, and afterwards revised according to the original Greek. Books and pamphlets were printed in Portuguese, Sinhalese, and Tamil. A Sinhalese grammar was published at Amsterdam in 1708. The press continued to print Sinhalese and Tamil books and eventually published a translation of the New Testament, and even produced a dictionary and a Latin grammar.

They had, however, very few clergymen, and of these, few were able to converse in the vernaculars. Accordingly two seminaries were founded, one in Jaffna and another in Colombo, to educate promising young men to assist the clergymen as proponents. To aid them in the work of evangelization, *plakaats* were issued forbidding the Dutch converts to take part in idolatrous ceremonies under pain of being publicly

whipped and put in chains for a year. The Company was thus the first to set up a printing press in this island and the first to cast Sinhalese type. Tamil books were printed in India by the Portuguese more than a century before them.

Tombo is a Portuguese word meaning registers and corresponds to the Sinhalese *lēkam miṭi*. The Portuguese had compiled tombos of the lands subject to the king of Portugal. When the Dutch captured the Portuguese possessions, the records of the Portuguese were duly handed to them. These documents were not cared for and were ultimately burnt. When the Dutch governors desired to obtain accurate lists of lands, they found only fragments of the Portuguese tombos. They therefore soon set to work to compile accurate lists of lands and persons subject to *rājakāriya*. The former were called land tombos and the latter head tombos. The one contained a description of the lands and gardens in each village in Dutch territory, with minute details of the extent of high and low lands, the buildings and trees and the taxes due. The other, the head tombo, contained the names of the people dwelling in the country, the services due from each, with age, occupation, and the taxes which each had to pay. These tombos were revised at stated intervals. When the tombos were compiled or revised, a proclamation was first issued calling upon all mudaliyars, kōrāles, and vidhānas to submit correct lists of lands and persons. Commissioners then visited all the villages to verify the lists, survey the lands, and note the occupants' title to the land. A large number of tombos thus made are still extant in the government archives of Colombo.

**454 DUTCH
TOMBOS**

There is also a school tombo, giving a list of all the persons baptized and married under the authority of the school board in each village with details of genealogy, full names and dates of birth, marriage, and death.

III.

SOURCES OF REVENUE

In course of time the servants of the Company in Ceylon, both high and low, became very corrupt and began to commit acts of violence and oppression on the people and even to defraud the Company. Peter Vuyst for instance, who became governor on the death of Rumpf in 1726, indulged in acts of tyranny and put men to torture and killed them without trial, till the Batavian authorities were obliged to arrest him and convey him in chains to Batavia, where he was tried and executed. His successor, Stephen Versluys, was directed to restore order and remedy the evils of Vuyst, but he not only failed in the task, but even created dissensions among his subordinates. When he was in consequence removed from office, he refused to surrender the government to Diedrik van Domberg, the commandant of Galle, who was nominated to that office. Domberg found the castle of Colombo closed against him and returned to Galle, and the commandant of Jaffna, Gualterus Woutersz, was summoned to administer the government.

He was soon superseded by Jacob Christian Pielat despatched as a special commissioner to restore good government. Pielat found much confusion in the country owing to misgovernment, and the revenues of the Company greatly diminished

455. CORRUPT ADMINISTRATION

456. PIELAT'S REFORMS

by the robberies and systematic malpractices of the officials. As the chief work of the civil servants of a commercial company was the promotion of trade, even the highest of them was not above the temptation of profiting by the opportunity to carry on trade on their own. They defrauded the Company, harassed the people, and with the connivance of the higher officials traded in cotton goods, bought areca from the people and shipped it in vessels for sale abroad, while the merchandise of the Company was rotting in the stores. Matters had gone so far that some of the Company's servants had banded together in what they called the Small Company. Pielat laboured hard to reform these abuses. He established a board of auditors to visit the Company's stores periodically and check the returns and stores and sales. He dismissed a number of corrupt officials, reduced the establishment and framed regulations for the effective control of the officials. In this manner he was able to increase the revenues of the Company tenfold.

These revenues were chiefly derived from the trade in cinnamon and arecanut, the sale of elephants, the proceeds from the numerous taxes

457. REVENUES such as poll tax, *adikāri* or tax levied for the maintenance of headmen, *officie* or payment in lieu of services, fines on passports, gardens, trees, vessels, nets, bulls, *dekkum* and tithes from the harvest. There was not a single product of the land from which the Company did not derive a revenue.

In Jaffna the Company introduced the dyeing industry, as the district abounded in dye roots of various kinds. Cloth was imported from the Choromandel coast by the Company and dyed on the Company's account in workshops erected for the purpose

**458. DYEING
INDUSTRY**

and under the supervision of the Company. The dyes used were principally the *sāyam* or 'choy' root and various other kinds of roots obtained at Mannār, Jaffna, and the Vanni. The dyed cloth was exported to Batavia and India.

The sale of elephants was held in Jaffna, and merchants were attracted by favourable terms of purchase, payment, and transport of animals.

459. ELEPHANT TRADE

The elephants caught at Mātara and other places were taken to Jaffna and sold along with the animals delivered to the Dutch by the vanniyārs as tribute. The collection of this tribute was a matter of great difficulty. The vanniyārs had many grievances against the Company and once they had recourse to the king of Kandy and offered to place themselves under his subjection. The king was then very anxious to please the Company in order to obtain the opening of the ports, and therefore sent the vanniyārs in chains to be dealt with by the Dutch. Later on the Company resorted to the expedient of obliging one of the vanniyārs to live in Jaffna under guard, each for a fixed time, as a hostage for the good behaviour of the others.

The Company sent commissioners periodically to inspect the pearl banks and report when a fishery was

460. PEARL FISHERY

feasible. The revenues from the fishery were derived as follows. Each diver used a stone to enable him to sink rapidly to the oyster bed, and thus there were as many stones as there were divers. The Company taxed the stones. Each Christian diver paid 60 fanams a day irrespective of the value or the quantity of his haul, a Muslim paid double the price. A certain number of stones had to be permitted tax free to the Naik of Madura, the Thevur of Rameswaram and the Patangatins of the divers.

To increase the revenues of the Company, the political council of Ceylon introduced the cultivation of the

**461. COFFEE .
CULTIVATION**

coffee plant in the service-lands of the people and in the Company's lands. At first, permission was granted to all mudaliyars, korāles, vidhānas, ārachchis, and other inhabitants of the villages to plant a fixed number of coffee plants in their accomodesans or service-lands on condition that the cultivator undertook to maintain the number of plants by replacing weak or diseased ones. The terms were that half the crop should be delivered free to the Company and that the Company would pay three light stuivers for the other half. From the *paraveni* lands, however, the Company claimed only a tenth as royalty and bought the rest at the same price as from accomodesans or service lands. But of course the number of plants permitted to be grown in the *paraveni* lands was much less than in the service lands. The Company also offered its own lands for cultivation under the same terms as the service lands. In this way the council hoped to plant about 700,000 plants in Colombo, Mātara, and Galle, and appointed an overseer to look after the coffee department. But the cost of entertaining the overseer and his retinue, when they came to collect the Company's share, was so great that many abandoned the cultivation, and Pielat was obliged to abolish the office of overseer, whereupon a much larger quantity of coffee was delivered at the Company's stores.

IV.

END OF NARENDRA

In 1738 Narendra Sinha took ill and at his request a Dutch physician, Dr. Danielsz, was sent to court to

**462. DEATH OF
NARENDRA
SINHA**

treat him. The physician's efforts were fruitless, and the king died on 13th May, 1739. He had striven to live at peace with the Dutch, but owing to the

latter's obstinacy in closing the ports, he at times entertained ideas of inviting a European nation to expel the Dutch. His council even suggested to him the desperate expedient of inviting the Portuguese to return, but Father Jacome Goncalvez, whom the king consulted on the point, frankly pointed out that the Portuguese power was now completely on the wane, and would not be able to help him. He was, therefore, content to follow the traditional policy of Kandy and instigate rebellions in the low-country.

Narēndra's mother and wives were all Nayakkārs from South India, and there were in consequence many of the king's Nayakkār relatives living at court, for when the king married a wife, the latter's father and mother and brothers and sisters migrated to Kandy and were accommodated in a special part of the town then known as Kumarupe Wiḍiya and now as Malabar Street. These Nayakkārs were acquainted with the English East India Company established in India and hoped to obtain help from that quarter. Meanwhile Narēndra, dying without issue, was succeeded by his wife's brother.

**463. NAYAKKAR
INFLUENCE**

CHAPTER XX.

THE NAYAKKAR DOMINATION

1739—1815

SRI VIJAYA RAJASINHA

1739—1747.

I

INNOVATIONS AT COURT

The royal line of Sinhalese kings ended with Narēndra Sinha, giving rise to a new dynasty of Nayakkār kings from South India.

464. THE NEW DYNASTY The extinct dynasty held sway for a century and a half. It began in 1594 with Konappu Bandāra of Peradeniya (147) and claimed the throne of the Uḍarata through Dona Catherina, daughter of Karalliyaddē of the earlier dynasty of Gampola. On the extinction of the Kōṭṭe dynasty, the children of Dona Catherina claimed also the over-lordship of Ceylon that went with Kōṭṭe and the allegiance of the Sinhalese people. Rājasiṅha, Wimaladharmā II, and Narēndra Sinha were thus kings of Kandy and emperors of Ceylon. These claims now passed to the Nayakkārs of South India by virtue of a novel law of inheritance introduced by the Nayakkārs in their own interests.

It was Senarat who revived the long-abandoned practice of procuring Indian queens for the Sinhalese kings. Up to his time, kings were content to take their queens from the princely Sinhalese families, but Senarat, who was himself nothing more than the son of an ordinary chieftain, wished his children to be regarded as of the solar race by reason of their descent from Dona Catherina; and to enhance

465. INDIANISATION OF COURT

their prestige, he disdained union with the existing princely families and procured them brides from abroad. Wimaladharmā and Narēndra both married Nayakkār brides, and the court of the Sinhalese kings became gradually Indianized.

The king was hedged round by a most ceremonious code of formalities; abject prostrations, such as the

466. CEREMONIOUS COURT ETIQUETTE Kōṭṭe kings or Wimaladharmā I or Senarat never thought of, were rigorously exacted not only from the ordinary Sinhalese subjects of the king, but also



Lion Flag

from the highest born Sinhalese nobles and even from the ambassadors of foreign powers. No man, however high his birth or rank, was allowed to ride a horse or be carried in a palanquin within the royal city. The disāwas and ratērālas imitated the court in their turn and entertained such exaggerated esteem of empty honours and ceremonies that they were even ready to wreck the success of state negotiations rather than forgo one jot or tittle of the ceremonious courtesies to which they claimed a right.

The Nayakkārs, however, could not well hold administrative or judicial posts, for the king's subjects spoke a language different from

467. FACTIONS

that of the Nayakkārs, followed customs unknown to them, and believed a religion other than theirs. Thus the government of the disāwanis and ratas still remained to the Sinhalese chiefs, whose influence accordingly was with the people of the land. The Sinhalese continued to be adigārs, disāwas and ratērālas, the customary rulers of provinces and hereditary counsellors of the king, while the Nayakkārs confined their activities to the king's court. Thus there soon arose two distinct classes of courtiers, one Indian by birth, Hindu in religion, Tamil in speech, and foreigners in the land, who were ready to provoke the Dutch Company and arrogant in their dealings; the other country-born, Buddhist, Sinhalese, sons of the soil, bred in the customs of the land and kin with its people and content to pursue the traditional policy of fostering rebellions in the low-country or of turning to foreign aid against the Dutch. These two conflicting parties were soon destined to destroy the very existence of kings in Ceylon.

The influence of the Nayakkārs was not confined to court etiquette but went even so far as to succeed in altering the time-honoured customs of succession to the throne.

468. LAW OF SUCCESSION

Hitherto the royal succession was regulated by a system which combined inheritance and selection. The nearest kin of the deceased king ascended the throne by right of succession if he were approved by the people whose sentiments were voiced by the ministers and courtiers. Sometimes a king nominated one of his kin to succeed him with the consent of the ministers and was duly acclaimed by the people. In

either case the crown passed to a blood relative of the king. But now the Nayakkārs succeeded in introducing a custom that when the king died without legitimate issue, the throne should pass to the queen's brother. This law was first introduced in conformity with the existing custom that the king might nominate his successor.

In this way Narēndra Sinha nominated, not one of his own blood as the custom was, but his queen's brother

a perfect stranger to the country,
469. SRI VIJAYA a Nayakkār who had come over to this island when his sister was espoused to the king. At his accession, the new king took the Sinhalese name of Sri Vijaya Rājasinha and married a Nayakkār wife from India. The new queen's kith and kin came over to the court. Her father became the most prominent counsellor of the king, and the court was completely under Nayakkār influence. Nayakkār held posts of honour and were granted the revenues of royal villages.

After girding on the sword of state, Sri Vijaya with his queen embraced Buddhism and strove to please his

subjects by building and repairing
470. RELIGIOUS POLICY OF SRI VIJAYA temples and vihāres, by erecting image-houses, and by celebrating

the religious and social festivals with great splendour, and above all by his efforts to procure priests from Siam to restore the Upasampāda ordination that had again become extinct in the kingdom. The first mission sent in 1741 to Siam to invite priests was wrecked, another sent in 1747 also met with mishaps. To display his new-born zeal for Buddhism, the king, moreover, abandoned the toleration characteristic of the

Sinhalese kings, and expelled the Catholic priests from Kandy and afterwards even ordered the churches of Puttlam and Chilaw to be destroyed. The Catholics of Weudda and Kalugala eventually found a home at Wahakōtte.

II.

ACCOMMODATION OF THE DUTCH

Governor Imhoff inaugurated a new policy in dealing with the court of Kandy. He argued with the **471. CHANGING** authorities of Batavia that it was **POLICY OF THE** more important for the Company **COMPANY** to exclude other nations from participating in the Ceylon trade, than to possess territory; as the latter would be of little value, if other nations gained a foothold on the island. To make sure of this exclusive hold on the Ceylon trade and to enjoy the revenues of the lands in peace, it was absolutely necessary to live in harmony with the king and to make him realize that peace with the Company would be to his and his subjects' interest. He therefore held that it was a great mistake to have closed the ports to the king in 1707 and desired to reopen them; but the authorities in Batavia would not consent.

Imhoff then recommended his successors to ignore any insult and give no cause for offence to the king. Towards the subjects of the Company, who were only too ready to seek help from the king, he recommended great tact, justice, and fair dealing. But he reckoned without the Nayakkārs. They knew the advantages which the Company derived by exclusive trade. They knew how to develop trade, and they were now in power at Kandy and were ready to resort to every possible means to extract from the Company the opening of the ports.

These diplomatic battles began soon after the accession of Sri Vijaya. When the Dutch embassy arrived to ask for the customary permission to transport cinnamon from the king's territories and to conduct the elephants to Jaffna, the request was refused, and the cinnamon ships of 1740 had to go without the precious spice. The Company despatched another ambassador, but he was not even allowed to submit his complaints. Instead, some minor headmen were sent to prevent the Dutch from erecting a dam at Attanagala. Other acts of hostility were committed on the frontiers. The Company's subjects were prevented from paying their taxes, and when the Dutch sought to build a church in a village within its jurisdiction, an imperious order was sent from court forbidding it. The Company tamely submitted for fear of giving offence to the king and making matters worse.

Emboldened by this weakness, the king sent an order to the Dutch governor to convey some letters to Siam and bring the replies. This too the governor conceded at least in part. Next, the courtiers annexed nine villages in the Siyane Kōralē, and the governor submitted under protest. Meanwhile smuggling on a large scale was going on between Negombo and Kalpiṭiya, and when the Company complained, the adigār replied that more smuggling would take place unless the ports were opened. The king's father-in-law now appeared on the scene with some boats laden with areca and tried to force a way. When he was prevented from doing so, he seized the Dutch officers and confiscated the elephants that were being taken to Jaffna. The Nayakkār was haughtily ordered to quit the place within eight days, but he only drove the

472. NEW DIPLOMACY

473. DEMANDS OF KING

messengers away and refused to let them search his vessels. Finally the Company had to give in and let the Nayakkār pass, and even make presents to him in the hope of gaining his support.

The disāwa of the Three and Four Kōralēs, the foremost chieftain in Ceylon, now appeared with a large retinue on the plea of settling the differences between the king and the Company, and called upon the governor to convey some courtiers to Siam to fetch priests. This was refused, but aggressions increased to such an extent that the governor gave in and conveyed the priests to Siam.

Before the embassy could return, the king died on 11th August 1747, while a Dutch ambassador who had come to felicitate the king on his wedding, was still at Gannōruwa. His reign was short, but his policy hostile to the Dutch.

474. MISSION TO SIAM

475. DEATH OF SRI VIJAYA

CHAPTER XXI.
KIRTISRI RAJASINHA
1747—1780

I.

RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY REVIVAL

Kirtisrī Rājasinha, brother-in-law of Sri Vijaya, now succeeded to the throne on 12th August 1747. He was then a boy of fourteen, who like his predecessor had come to the island when his sister married the king. In the beginning he had of course very little to do with the acts of government which was carried on by the disāwas, especially by the two prominent chiefs, Dumbara and Mampitiya, who were the leaders of the Sinhalese party, though jealous of each other. Under their direction, the early part of Kirtisrī's reign became noted for great national activities due to the fact of a foreigner sitting on the Sinhalese throne.

The religious and literary revival was chiefly due to the influence of a prominent Buddhist monk, named Weliwita Saranankara, who was distinguished alike for his religious zeal as for his literary labours.

**477. SARANAN-
KARA**

But he was still a sāmanēra or novice, for though the Upasampadā ordination had been revived from Arrakan in the reign of Wimaladharma, it had already become extinct. It was Saranankara who persuaded Sri Vijaya to attempt to restore ordination by bringing monks from Siam, but the king's early death brought the negotiations to an end. On the accession of Kirtisri

therefore, another embassy was sent to Siam to fetch ordained monks.

Some Sinhalese chiefs set out for Siam in Dutch vessels in 1750 and after an adventurous voyage returned in 1753 with Upali *thēra* and twenty other *thēras* and *sāmanēras*, accompanied by Siamese

**478. SIAMESE
MISSION**

ambassadors. They were received with great ceremony, and Saranankara and others were duly ordained, thus giving rise to the Siamese Nikāya which still flourishes. Saranankara was made the Sanga Rāja of Ceylon, and under his direction, religion and letters flourished once more in Lanka after a period of decay. Saranankara himself wrote books on religion, grammar, and medicine, and died in 1778. And the revival thus begun gave rise to several developments.

Some of the chiefs now felt ashamed that a Nayakkār king should be ruling in the land and that Hindu relatives of the king should

**479. MOLANDA
REBELLION**

be lording it over a Buddhist country. They therefore plotted to do away with Kīrtisiri and enthrone a Siamese prince who had come to Ceylon as a monk. But the arch conspirator, Mōlanda, was denounced by Gōpala Mudaliyar and the plot was frustrated. The conspirators were punished and their lands confiscated. The lands of Mōlanda were granted by the grateful king to Gōpala Mudaliyar by the well-known Geṭṭaberiya sannas or royal grant dated 1760.

The Siamese monks were likewise quite shocked to find Hindu temples, like the Nata, Saman, and Vishnu dēwalēs, in the capital of

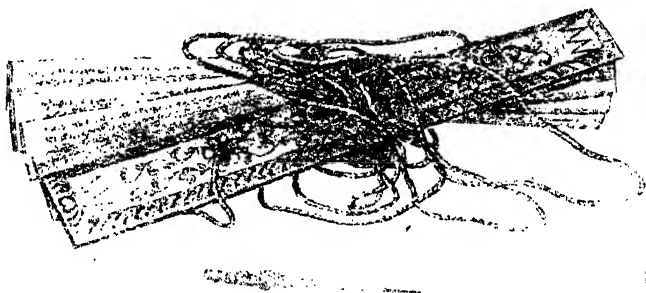
480. PERAHERA

a Buddhist country. The insignia of the gods were carried in procession with the pomp and majesty introduced by

Sri Vijaya, while the Buddhist temples were neglected, Buddhist ordination extinct, and religion decaying. To satisfy their very reasonable complaint, Kīrtisrī directed that henceforth the insignia of the *daladā* and some Buddhist emblems should have the place of honour in the *perahēras*.

The Siamese monks brought with them among other manuscripts a copy of the *Mahāvansa*, and the king ordered the chronicle to be compared with the Siamese copies and to be brought up to date. The *Mahāvansa*, strictly so called, is the chronicle dealing with the kings of Ceylon from the beginning to the

481. THE SULUWANSA



Ola Book and Style

time of the *Mahasēna*. It consists of thirty seven chapters written in Pali epic verse. The continuation of the chronicle is called the *Suluwansa*, and was written at various times. The first part of the *Suluwansa*, consisting of 42 chapters and relating to the history of the kings from Sri Megavanna to Parākrama Bahu, is believed to have been written by Dharmakirti, a monk who came to Ceylon from Burma in the XIII century. The second part, added by an unknown hand, narrates the deeds of the kings from Vijaya Bāhu to Parākrama Bāhu IV. Now, on Kīrtisrī's orders, a

third section was added, bringing down the story from Parākrama Bāhu V to Kīrtisrī.

These additions were apparently made from records of events kept in the temples by the monks. These records are for the most part registers of the meritorious works by which the kings furthered the cause of religion. Other things, which did not interest the monks, find little mention in the chronicles. Thus for instance the chronicle narrates the meritorious deeds of Kīrtisrī at great length but gives us little information about the other events of his reign. It is for this reason that Geiger, the editor and translator of the *Mahāvansa*, remarked that "not what is said, but what is left unsaid, is the besetting difficulty in Sinhalese history."

482. MONASTIC RECORDS

II.

THE KING AND THE COMPANY

In 1748 an embassy arrived in Colombo to ask in the king's name for pearls and mares. The governor did not comply with the demand and asked in turn for the delivery of some cinnamon peelers who had fled to the king's territory, which was refused. Golanesse then threatened that, if the peelers were not sent back, the Company would not interest itself with regard to the bringing of the Siamese priests. No former governor had ever used threats of this kind, and the king, or rather the king's father, who was the power behind the scene and the head of the Nayakkār party, then demanded the delivery of the elephants caught near Negombo and informed the Company that the king was going to hold a pearl fishery on his own account. A fishery was indeed attempted, but it turned out fruitless.

483. QUARRELS WITH THE COMPANY

A high priest of Kandy with 32 others and a large suite with drums and flags and music now arrived in Colombo and asked to be accommodated at Kēlaniya on the plea of receiving medical treatment from a Dutch physician. The governor was afraid that this was an attempt to establish a monastery at Kēlaniya, and that the demand for pearls was merely intended to pick a quarrel. To avoid this, the governor declared that he would not hold a pearl fishery without first communicating with the king.

Encouraged by this weak-kneed policy, an ambassador arrived in 1753 to demand a share of the trade in elephants. The new governor, Loten, was unwilling to take on himself the responsibility of a refusal and promised to convey the request to his superiors. The request was refused by the authorities at Batavia, and soon after this decision was conveyed to the king, a series of petty aggressions on the Company's lands took place all along the frontiers, and the demand was reiterated. The cinnamon peelers engaged in collecting cinnamon for the Company in the king's lands with the king's permission were molested and driven away and the cinnamon destroyed ; and an embassy came to repeat the demand. When it was again refused, the king's officers fanned the discontent of the peelers and a violent insurrection broke out in the Colombo and Mātara disāwanis.

The causes of the insurrection were twofold. First of all the paddy-tax was collected by farming, and the renters committed grave injustices with impunity and the people were goaded to desperation. To add to this, Governor Schreuder embarked on a

484. KELANIYA

485. DEMAND FOR ELEPHANTS

486. CAUSES OF INSURRECTION

land policy which was greatly resented by the people. Coconut cultivation was more profitable to the people than cinnamon cultivation and saved them from the rigorous exactions of the Company. Accordingly many jungles where cinnamon grew were cleared and planted with coconut to the great diminution of the cinnamon supply. Lands from Negombo to Dondra were one continuous grove of coconut. The governor, thereupon, issued a proclamation prohibiting the clearing of jungle and the consequent destruction of cinnamon. But as it had little effect, Schreuder found it necessary to adopt the radical measure of appropriating the lands for the Company, offering the people other land in exchange, if they could prove a title. Half the produce of lands cultivated without the consent of the Company and one third of those cultivated with consent, was demanded for the Company. When the holders of the land avoided these payments, Schreuder called upon them to pay the value in money or sell the lands. This was opposed, and the governor sent troops to cut down the coconut trees.

This caused great discontent, and the disāwas of the king instigated the cultivators as well as the peelers who had grievances of their own, to rise in rebellion. The Dutch repressed the rising with severity and banished from the island some of the prominent rebels. The king's men then took up the cause, and marching in full force, they captured the Dutch outposts of Hanwella and slew the garrison, overran the Mātara disāwani and even captured the fort of Mātara, burnt Dutch buildings in Galle, and destroyed schools and resthouses. It was thereupon decided to take the field, and a Dutch army invaded the king's territories, but was soon forced to retire.

487. THE INSURRECTION

III.

FOREIGN AID SOUGHT

Under these circumstances the Nayakkār advisers of the king desired to obtain foreign aid, and when a request for assistance was rejected by the nawāb of Madura, who was afterwards rewarded for it by the Company, a vakil was sent to the English at Fort St. George in Madras to ask their assistance. The English were then at peace with the Dutch and could not openly violate their treaty obligations ; but they were very anxious to have a settlement in Ceylon and a share in the cinnamon and areca trade. Accordingly they despatched John Pybus, a member of the Madras council, to find out, in view of future action, what the king was prepared to give in return for assistance against the Dutch.

Pybus arrived at Trincomalie in 1762 and was conducted to the capital, but the king and his courtiers were very much disappointed to find that the British ambassador was not able to promise any assistance against the Dutch, and was only intent on ascertaining what concessions the king would make. In the event of their assistance, Pybus said, they wished to have a settlement at Koṭṭiyār, Batticaloa, or Chilaw and monopoly of trade. The king was quite ready to grant all this and more if the English would only undertake to help him against the Company, but as the ambassador would not make any promise, nothing was concluded.

The ambassador returned to Madras, ill-impressed with the court of Kandy. The king and courtiers had such an exaggerated notion of their importance and exacted such subject humiliations from the ambassador that negotiations were on the point of an

**488. BRITISH
EMBASSY 1762**

**489. MISSION OF
PYBUS**

**490. FAILURE OF
MISSION**

abrupt termination. But Pybus having come so far was unwilling to return without an audience and submitted to ceremonies with ill-grace being 'fatigued, hungry, and out of humour.' Moreover, as in the case of the French, the king and courtiers forgot to supply provisions to the ships that were waiting for the ambassador at Trincomalie.

IV.

INVASION OF KANDY

The Dutch became aware of these dealings, and Baron van Eck who had come as governor wished to make a hostile demonstration. He erected the Star Fort of Mātara which is still intact, to protect the

491. DUTCH INVASIONS

town against invasion, captured Chilaw and Puttalam, and after offering a reward and exemption from *ūliyam* duty to all those who assisted the Company, marched on Kandy. Expeditions to Kandy were not so easy as an inexperienced governor was likely to think, and for a whole century the Company had carefully abstained from 'making an attempt. There are no roads; the paths that exist are deliberately kept in a state of disrepair. The inhabitants flee to the woods on hearing of the approach of an army, and provisions cannot be obtained without maintaining an unbroken line of communications with Colombo. A small garrison left to protect a post of communication is soon beset by hordes of enemies and overpowered.

Besides, the Kandyan method of warfare is one against which a regular army is powerless, unless it is exceedingly numerous. For "con-

492. KANDYAN WARFARE

scious of their inability to resist the regular attack of European troops" wrote an officer, who successfully marched

to Kandy with a small force, "and aware of the advantages they possess in being familiar with the country and inured to the climate, the Kandyan generals avoid close combat, preferring an irregular and desultory warfare. They harass the enemy in his march, hanging on his flanks, cutting off his supplies, interrupting the communication between his divisions, and occupying the heights which command the passes, they fire with perfect security from behind rocks and trees. They aim principally at the coolies who carry the ammunition and provisions, well knowing that, without these, a regular force can make but little progress. To dislodge them from these heights is a task of extreme difficulty, as the paths leading to them are mostly on the opposite sides of the mountains, and only known to the inhabitants.

They are accustomed to impede the march of hostile troops by felling, and placing as abattis, large trees across the defiles. In narrow passes, where they cannot be avoided, this contrivance presents a most serious obstacle to the march of troops, for cutting up and removing a large tree is not the business of a moment."

Such was the case now. The invading army was allowed to advance and involve itself in such difficulties, and was harassed by guerilla warfare to such an extent, that the expedition returned unsuccessful.

493. THE FIRST EXPEDITION

The Company thereby lost prestige, and Baron van Eck wished to wipe out the disgrace by a regular and organized invasion. Supplies of troops were obtained from Batavia, and every precaution was taken to prevent foreign aid and local disturbances, and to win the sympathy of the anti-Nayakkār faction in Kandy.

In January 1765 the Dutch took the field, marching in two divisions through the Seven Kōralēs to enter

Kandy by the Weudda pass, as it was easier than the Balana pass. Captain Tornay with 800 men set out from Puttlam to join the main body at Kurunegala.

494. SECOND EXPEDITION

The governor in person accompanied the main division and reached Kurunegala by way of Negombo, Tambarawila, Kaṭugampola, and Wisinave, easily overcoming all resistance. The combined army soon occupied Weudda.

The successful advance of the army created consternation in the capital. The king, the royal family, and the inhabitants fled; the Nayakkār faction organized resistance, but the Sinhalese party,

495. FLIGHT OF KING

with which the governor was in communication, now sought to use the opportunity to dethrone the king. For more than a century, Kandy had been free from invasion, and the king was anxious to avert the humiliation of a sack of his capital. He therefore sent a message to ask the Dutch not to advance further, as he would send his courtiers to grant the Dutch all they asked. Accordingly an embassy arrived the next day and offered to concede the Three, Four, and Seven Kōralēs with Sabaragamuwa and the absolute possession of the seaboard.

But the Sinhalese faction had come to offer to deliver up the king, if the Company would recognize the disāwas as independent sovereigns. These negotiations made the governor think that the king

496. SINHALESE FACTION

was at his mercy, and on the advice, it is said, of van Anglebeck, the secretary to government, van Eck demanded that the king should lay down his crown at the feet of the Dutch and accept it as a vassal of the Company, paying a yearly tribute. Such a demand coming from a mercenary Company which had bent the knee to him times out of number greatly

incensed the king, and he rejected the proposal with scorn.

The governor thereupon entered the city, seized the king's palace and sacked the city. The army

**497. KANDY
TAKEN**

garrisoned the city, and detachments were sent in all directions to pursue the king. But these detachments were beaten back with loss, and the Dutch, unaccustomed to military operations, began to place themselves in an awkward position. The governor returned to Colombo, moody and melancholy, and died in a few days. The officer in command at Kandy was then summoned to Colombo and left with a part of the troops.

By some inexplicable mistake, the line of communications was abandoned. The garrison of Kandy found itself beset by the Kandyans, and

498. RETREAT

isolated with the greater part of the men sick. After nine months, with great difficulty and loss, the garrison retired to Colombo, pursued by the Kandyans, and the expedition on which the governor had reckoned so much turned out a complete failure.

V.

THE TREATY

Van Eck's successor tried to obtain by diplomacy what military operations failed to achieve. The king's

**499. THE KING
SUES FOR PEACE**

subjects were suffering from the effects of the recent warfare which prevented them from sowing their fields. To increase their troubles, the Dutch ravaged the frontiers and prepared expeditions to the interior from Puttlam and Trincomalie. Under these circumstances, the king decided to make peace and sent ambassadors to Colombo.

Falk realized the king's helplessness and urged very unfavourable terms, which the ambassadors had no help but to accept. These terms were that the king should relinquish all claims, and grant to the Company the lawful, independent, and paramount sovereignty of the disāwanis of Mātara, Galle, Colombo, and Jafna; the districts of Kalpiṭṭiya, Mannār, Trincomalie, and Batticaloa; and moreover a strip of seaboard, one *gauea* in width connecting the Dutch settlements, so that the Company would be masters of the entire coast of Ceylon. The Company in its turn recognized the king's sovereignty over the inland parts of Ceylon; promised to give free access to the salt lewāyas on the east and west coast and grant free trade. The king was to concede to the Dutch the monopoly of trade and permission to peel cinnamon in the king's lands and do away with the humiliating prostrations demanded from ambassadors. The Company in recompense would pay an annual subsidy equal to the income that would have been derived by the king from the strip of seaboard granted to the Company.

By this treaty the king made himself a virtual prisoner, cutting himself off from the possibility of communicating with foreigners, and placing himself and his subjects in the perilous position of depending on the Dutch for their supplies of salt. This iniquitous treaty the ambassadors accepted for the nonce, apparently in the hope of securing modifications later on or of not observing the terms when they were strong enough. This attempt of the Dutch to drive a hard bargain, however, opened the way to their undoing, just as the similar attempt to isolate Rājasinha led to the expulsion of the Portuguese. (239)

The disāwa of Colombo took the treaty to Hanguranketa for the king's signature. He was quite ready to sign, as he was aware of the machinations of the anti-Nayakkār faction. That faction, in fact, included even the Kandyan ambassadors who came to make the treaty, and Falk who knew this, even suggested adding a clause against the Nayakkārs, but the ambassadors were unwilling to show their hand too early. However Falk instructed his disāwa to ask the king to get the Kandyan disāwas also to sign the treaty. Kirtisri would not listen to a suggestion calculated to give more solemnity to the treaty and greater importance to the disāwas.

Soon after signing the treaty, the king returned to Kandy, repaired the damage caused to buildings and temples by the Dutch, reerected vihāras and despatched ambassadors to Batavia to ask for modifications of the treaty. Batavia was inexorable, and the ambassadors did not survive the voyage. In 1772 when the King had succeeded in making his position strong against the anti-Nayakkār faction, he sent ambassadors to Colombo to ask for a share of the pearl fishery and the right to send at least two or three dhonies. To humour the king, the governor promised to refer the request to the authorities in Batavia. These authorities promptly directed the governor to make it quite plain to the king that there was not the slightest hope of his obtaining even a single free dhony. Accordingly in 1775 the king demanded the restoration of the sea board. The instructions from Batavia were quick and decisive: 'As often as the courtiers even mention the restoration of the sea coast to them, at once sternly assure them that they may put all hope of such re-acquisition entirely out of their heads.'

VI.

DUTCH ADMINISTRATION

The governor appointed Dutch officials to the newly acquired territories. Residents were appointed

**503. THE NEWLY
ACQUIRED
TERRITORY**

to Chilaw, Puttlam, Batticaloa, Magampattu, Koṭṭiyar, and Tam-balagama. Puttlam was attached to Kalpiṭiya and Chilaw to the Colombo disāwani. The Kandyan pepper plantations of Kaṭṭupitiya and Mādampe were carefully cleared and improved. Irrigation works and canals were promptly taken in hand to improve the cultivation. The salt industry on the east and west coast was duly regulated. The king's subjects had to be supplied with salt according to the treaty, and the Company meant to make use of that dependence as a weapon against the king. His subjects were therefore allowed at a time only as much salt as would suffice for a year.

Soon after his return from Kandy, the disāwa, Costa, was able to complete the reclamation of the

**504. MUTURAJA-
WELA**

Muturājawela in which he was engaged when war broke out. Sluices, dams, and canals were erected at a cost of over 25,000 guilders. The canal to Negombo was originally the work of a Sinhalese king of Kōṭṭe, but it admitted salt water into the lands and destroyed the fields. The Portuguese in their turn tried and failed in the same way, but the industry and enterprise of the Dutch now succeeded in reclaiming the lands for cultivation. The lands were granted to prospective cultivators as *paravenias* subject to the usual tax of one tenth of the produce as royalty and another one tenth as payment for the cost of reclamation. The irrigation works were to be

maintained at the cost of the cultivators. But, within a few years this hopeful scheme met with the same fate as in the Sinhalese and Portuguese times, and was abandoned, only to be taken up again by the British.

In spite of the king's undertaking to permit the Company to peel cinnamon in his lands, the governor found the task as difficult as before the treaty. He, therefore, thought of gradually making himself independent of the king for the supply of cinnamon, and began to make regular plantations and to encourage the people within the Dutch jurisdiction to cultivate cinnamon. It was hitherto believed that cinnamon was best when it grew wild, but experiments now demonstrated that such was far from being the case. Severe edicts were therefore issued forbidding the exportation of cinnamon plants to Europe or India on pain of a fine of 1,000 guilders for each plant. Another *plakaat* forbade the least injury to the cinnamon plantations and the clearing of chenas on pain of being put in chains and punished. The crime of "peeling, selling, purchasing, or giving away, transporting or receiving of cinnamon" was already punishable with death. Thus began the Company's attempts to plant cinnamon gardens.

By right of the absolute possession of the seaboard of Ceylon, the Company now claimed full sovereign rights over the pearl fishery and held successful fisheries in 1766 and 1767, but misfortunes soon set in. The weather spoiled the fishery of 1768, and there began a long dispute with the nawāb of the Carnatic who also claimed certain rights. To support his customary rights, he declared that he had refused

505. CINNAMON GARDENS

506. THE PEARL FISHERY

to help the king of Kandy who had appealed to him and whose cause was supported by some Europeans. The dispute was finally settled on the intervention of the British East India Company. During the forty years that the Dutch held the pearl fishery, they obtained a revenue of one and a half million dollars or on an average 37,500 a year.

When Sri Vijaya expelled the Catholic priests from Kandy, (470) they were forced to establish themselves on the Dutch frontiers in spite of the rigorous laws imposing the penalty of death for harbouring a priest. The Catholics in Dutch territory accordingly began to assert themselves and openly demand toleration. The Catholics of Negombo took the lead and were followed by others. In Kalutara, Catholics openly held processions, whereupon some of the leaders were arrested and deported. But the Catholics of Negombo built chapels, and when the Dutch troops were sent to destroy them, the people resisted. Though *plakaats* were issued forbidding 'the intrusion of Roman Catholic priests' or 'holding public or private meetings on pain of severe punishments,' or 'trading in wax candles' (1752) they remained in abeyance and the government was obliged first to 'allow Roman Catholics, who did not wish to be married in the Reformed Church, to do so before a Court of Justice (1776). The Catholics disregarded this, and another *plakaat* was issued 'forbidding Roman Catholic priests to celebrate or register marriages.' But this too was disregarded, as the Catholic registers of the churches of Negombo, Colombo, Kalutara, and Galle testify. Finally the Company realized their impotence in this matter and left the Catholics alone.

VII.

END OF KIRTISRI

Kirtisri died on 2nd January 1782 from the effects of a fall from a horse. He is described as a handsome

**508. DEATH OF
KIRTISRI**

man and is said to have been a patron of letters. In his reign, however, the jealousy and dissatisfaction of the Sinhalese disāwas was shown in various ways. After the Mōlanda rebellion (497) the disāwas directly offered to deliver up the king. (496) In the course of negotiations for peace (1766), the disāwas manifested their displeasure at the influence of the Nayakkārs. The Rājas of India spoke contemptuously of the Nayakkār kings of Ceylon. The nawāb of the Carnatic asked a Dutch ambassador: "The king of Kandy, who is he? Nothing but an aldeaar (country gentleman) from Mādura. To such persons the Company shows much respect. But what is he to me?" In Kirtisri's reign, moreover, took place the first and the only invasion of Kandy by the Dutch; and though the expedition failed, the king made by far the worst treaty that Kandy ever made.

Nevertheless the reign of Kirtisri is noted for the religious and literary revival in Lanka. The writing

**509. NOTABLE
ACTS**

of the Suluwansa, the restoration of Upasampadā ordination, the erection of Gangārama, and the rebuilding of the Ridi Vihāra, Medepola Vihāra, and the restoration of the Sripāda to the Buddhists are some of the best known acts of his reign.

CHAPTER XXII.
RAJADI RAJASINHA
1780—1798.

I.

ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH

The brother of Kirtisrī who had been regarded as heir apparent for many years, now became king under the name of Rājādi Rājasinha. He had come to Ceylon with his brother when quite a child, and his breeding and education was Kandyan and Sinhalese. He was therefore acceptable to the disāwas, and his accession was unopposed. The only trouble was the jealousy among the chieftains and their rivalry for the first adigārship, which was now a very lucrative post on account of the trade in arecanuts, and because so long as a Nayakkār sat on the throne, the first adigār was the foremost Sinhalese.

The war of American Independence was destined to give trouble to the Company in Ceylon. When war broke out between Holland and England over the right to search neutral vessels, the Dutch colonies were in danger of attacks from the English. It was therefore necessary to strengthen the garrisons, but according to its charter, the Dutch East India Company had to protect its settlements at its own expense and with its own troops. The defence of Colombo, Galle, Jaffna, and Trincomalie needed some four thousand infantry and seven hundred artillery in time of peace, and double that number in time of war. The Company therefore was now faced with the task of supplying the necessary troops. The Company's troops

**510. THE NEW
KING**

**511. THE
COMPANY'S
TROUBLES**

were enlisted from different nations in Europe and were styled National Europeans, but these were quite insufficient. Accordingly the Company hired the regiment de Meuron belonging to a Swiss count, named Charles Daniel de Meuron, and mercenary regiments belonging to the Dukes of Wurtemberg and Luxenburg. It also raised regiments of Malays, Sepoys, and local levies of Muslims and Lascarins.

Such a large military establishment was a great strain on the finances of the government, and the authorities in Batavia urged strong measures of economy by the reduction of the civil establishment, the simplification of the methods of collecting revenue, the promotion of agriculture, and the creation of a paper currency.

512. PAPER CURRENCY

As soon as England declared war on Holland, the English Company in India sought to profit by the opportunity and sent Lord Macartney as governor of Madras with orders to commence hostilities. All the smaller Dutch factories in the neighbourhood of the English were promptly seized, and the English fleet blockaded Negapatam, the key to the country of Tanjore, and despatched a ship of the fleet to keep guard over Trincomalie. Land forces marched against Negapatam and stormed the city on 11th November 1781. In January the English fleet under Sir Edward Hughes set sail for Ceylon and captured the fort of Trincomalie on 5th January 1782, and six days later the fort of Oostenberg was taken by assault.

It was Macartney's intention to follow this up by an attack on Colombo, but before doing so, he desired to enter into an alliance with the king of Kandy, not only with the object of obtaining provisions for Trincomalie and assistance for the invading force, but with the

514. MACARTNEY'S PLANS

deeper intention of asking the king to grant Trincomalie to the English, so that even if a peace between England and Holland forced the English to restore the Dutch settlements captured in war, the harbour of Trincomalie might be retained by virtue of the king's gift. For this purpose Macartney sent his own private secretary, Hugh Boyd, with the naval expedition to convey letters and presents to the king. Immediately after the fall of Trincomalie, Boyd set out for Kandy.

As the proposed attack on Colombo was to take place in April, Boyd was anxious to treat betimes with the king and set out for Kandy without even waiting for a communication from the king or for a disāwa to conduct him to the capital according to custom. It took him a whole month and much trouble and vexation to reach Gannōruwa. But the time was ill chosen. Kīrtisrī had died just three days before Boyd set out. It was Kīrtisrī who had once dealt with the English and who was so hostile to the Dutch that he would gladly have joined hands with anyone that wished to attack them. The new king on the contrary had just ascended the throne unexpectedly and had as yet no time to look round him or decide on a policy. The disāwas likewise were either candidates for the first adigārship or were secret friends of the Dutch. To add to all this, the English had attacked and captured Trincomalie without any communication with the king, who was in consequence very suspicious of their intentions and had forbidden his subjects to hold intercourse with them, for the Dutch had represented the English and their motives for this war in a very ugly light.

515. BOYD'S EMBASSY

Under the circumstances there was little hope of a successful negotiation, nor did the unseemly haste of Boyd augur well for his embassy. The king and courtiers pointedly asked Boyd about the motives of the English in this war. "Why were they so fond of war? Why did they wage war so readily on their recent friends?" Finally they got rid of Boyd by stating that the king would not enter into a treaty unless it were authorized by the king of England. Boyd returned on 26th March, and finding that the ship which was waiting to take him back to Madras had put to sea for want of provisions, he hired a vessel and set out. On the very next day he was captured by a French ship. Boyd threw his papers overboard for fear of betraying his identity and recent mission, but the farseeing Frenchman rescued them from the brine and sent them to the Dutch in Colombo where they are still extant in the Dutch Archives.

II.

THE FRENCH, THE SINHALESE, AND THE DUTCH

The ship that captured Boyd was one of the fleet under the command of Bailli de Suffren who was going full sail to help his allies, the Dutch. Hearing that Trincomalie was taken by the English, Suffren was making for that harbour, intent on recapturing it from the English. On the day after Boyd's capture, the two fleets encountered and fought a most sanguinary but indecisive battle. Suffren put into Batticaloa to refit and sent Boyd prisoner to Madagascar, while the English fleet returned to Trincomalie. The two fleets met again and fought a second battle on 6th July. The English admiral realized that the Frenchman was minded

516. CAPTURED BY FRENCH

517. SUFFREN AND THE ENGLISH

to attack Trincomalie and sent reinforcements under Captain Hay Macdowall to take charge of the port and put it in a state of defence. But before this could be done, Suffren was upon Trincomalie.

The French arrived on 25th August, landed men and raised batteries and cannonaded the fort which was ob-

**518. CAPTURES
TRINCOMALIE**

liged to surrender on 30th August, and fort Oostenberg the next day. The French admiral conducted operations with feverish haste, as he knew that the English fleet would return. Indeed it did return two days later to find to its astonishment that the fort had changed hands. The two squadrons closed again off Trincomalie on 3rd September. The battle raged loud and long till night put an end to another drawn battle. The two forts remained in the hands of the French till the Peace of Paris in 1784, when they were restored to the English, who in turn restored them to the Dutch on the same day.

The English war made the Company very anxious to propitiate the king, and when an embassy was sent

**519. RAJADI AND
THE DUTCH**

to congratulate him on his accession, Rājādi insisted on the prostrations renounced by his predecessor by the treaty of 1766, which even Boyd was ready to perform and which the Dutch could not now refuse. Pleased with this preliminary success, the king demanded the restoration of the seaboard, but as the English had meanwhile been driven out and Trincomalie was in the hands of their allies, the governor did not hesitate to refuse the demand, as he was ordered to do by his superiors. The king thereupon closed the *kadavat*, and the Dutch retaliated by closing theirs, thus endangering the king's trade and the supply of salt.

The disāwas were then despatched to make a demonstration on the frontiers, but the governor who had now troops enough for any emergency and had secured friends among the disāwas, especially Pilima Talauwe, reinforced the garrisons. Being thus prevented from damaging the Dutch, the king tried to communicate with the French, but Pilima Talauwe informed the Dutch of the move and the letters were intercepted. The governor now felt the strength of his position. The subjects of the Company were now not quite so ready to seek assistance from the disāwas, as cultivation and trade in Dutch territories were more lucrative than in the king's.

**520. PILIMA
TALAUWE**

The Company, moreover, was not so dependent on the king for cinnamon as it used to be, and could vex him with impunity. In 1792 van der Graff who had succeeded Falk, prepared an expedition against the king to demand an explanation of his dealings with the French in violation of the treaty. But the authorities at Batavia were aghast at the idea of another war with Kandy and sent orders to abandon the attempt and to seek to resume friendly relations with Kandy. The king himself realized his helplessness in having to depend on the Company for salt and sent word to announce that the *kadavat* would be opened. This announcement enabled the governor to carry out the orders of Batavia without loss of self-respect, and he too opened the graves. But as no embassy came from the king, the governor was not minded to send any himself and inquired whether the king would grant leave to peel cinnamon in his territories. The adigārs' reply was that such permission was usually granted when an embassy came to ask it. The governor preferred to forgo the king's cinnamon than to submit to an embassy with costly presents and abject humiliations,

**521. EXPEDITION
ABANDONED**

The Dutch plan of growing in their own territories all the cinnamon that was needed, was being carried into effect. Cinnamon gardens were opened in Negombo, Kalutara, in the Raigam, Salpiti, Alutkūru and Galle Kōralēs as well as in the Maradana of Colombo. All manner of inducements were offered to the mudaliyars and lascarins to plant cinnamon. Lands were freely granted for the purpose, medals and rewards and titles were lavishly distributed to encourage the good work. Every effort was made to develop agriculture. The fields around Colombo were protected from floods by an embankment erected at a cost of 5000 rix-dollars. A similar scheme to protect the lands of Hēwāgam Kōralē and Gangaboda Pattu, the draining of Diviture, the repair of Giants tank, were some of the principal public works contemplated for the promotion of agriculture.

The Vanni districts were a source of trouble, as the vanniyārs were most negligent in the payment of tribute. The Company therefore took up the administration of the lands and farmed revenues to Lieutenant Nagel. Manioc was introduced and sugar-cane was cultivated on the bank of the Kaluganga under the superintendence of a captain of the Luxemburg regiment whose father had sugar plantations in America. Colonel de Meuron likewise planted sugar-cane between Colombo and Galkissa.

Although the people of Hōiland sympathized with the revolted American colonies, the hereditary stadtholder, William IV. of Orange, remained pro-English. For this reason William became very unpopular after the peace of 1784, and it needed the

intervention of Prussia to keep him in power. Holland was made a party to the treaty of 1788, made at the Hague, where the English and the Dutch undertook to help each other against any hostile attacks of any European power in India. Thus the English and Dutch Companies began mutual dealings. The former intervened with its good offices to bring about a peace between the Dutch and the rāja of Cochin. In 1789 the English Company supplied rice to Colombo, and the Dutch in their turn sent troops to assist the English in their Indian wars.

But in 1794 the French republic carried the war into Holland, conquered that country and set up a
525. THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC Batavian republic in imitation of the French one, and the stadtholder had to flee to England. Great Britain thereupon declared war on the Batavian Republic, and that seemed a good opportunity for the English Company to occupy the long coveted settlements in Ceylon. When the news of this revolution reached Colombo through an unofficial channel, the political council met on 12th July 1795 and decided that, if the English should attack them, they would declare that, as they had no official information of the change of government, they adhered to the old constitution of the states-general with a stadtholder, which the council thought would remove all excuse for hostilities. If, however, the English should still be hostile, they would defend Colombo, Galle, and Trincomalie to the best of their power.

III.

LOSS OF DUTCH FORTS TO THE ENGLISH

But meanwhile the stadtholder was persuaded by his English hosts to send an order to the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon to admit English troops and ships to prevent the colonies
526. THE ENGLISH AIMS from being seized by the French. This letter was sent to Ceylon through the governor of

Madras, Lord Hobart, along with ships and troops. While the fleet took troops to Trincomalie, Major Agnew came to Colombo to deliver the stadtholder's letter and a communication from Lord Hobart to announce to the governor that the British proposed to take over the Dutch settlements of Ceylon in terms of the stadtholder's letter with the intention of restoring them when peace was made, but to be held meanwhile by the English. If the proposal were refused, the English would take the settlements by force.

The political council met again on 25th July to consider this momentous question and rejected the offer of the English to take over the government, but thought it expedient to accept the offer of troops, and it was decided to admit 800 men on the same terms as the loan of the Dutch troops to the English a few years previously. This decision was communicated to the English who were satisfied for the nonce, and the commander of Trincomalie was ordered to receive 300 British troops into the garrison of Fort Oostenberg. But the commander of Trincomalie had already heard of the preparations of the English to seize the Dutch forts, and had some acrimonious correspondence with the admiral of the English ships that brought the troops to Trincomalie. When he received the order from the governor, he succeeded in detecting a technical error in the order and refused to admit British troops until the matter was referred to Colombo.¹ But the English construed this as a sign of disaffection towards the stadtholder and called upon the commander to deliver the fort at once under threat of taking it by force, and landed troops to carry out the threat, but stayed their hand till matters were referred to Colombo.

**527. DUTCH AC-
CEPT ENGLISH
HELP**

At this stage a new development occurred. The political council of Colombo received information that the change in the constitution of their country had been made by consent of the people and that therefore they were bound to stand by the republic. They therefore decided not to submit to the protection of the English on the order of the exiled stadtholder. The council therefore withdrew their acceptance of the offer of troops and decided to defend their possessions, namely Colombo, Galle, and Trincomalie.

**528. CHANGE
THEIR MIND**

The British forces before Trincomalie were immediately informed of this decision and they at once proceeded to action and opened their batteries on Fort Fredrick on 23rd August. In three days a breach was made and the fort was summoned to surrender. The garrison demanded impossible terms, whereupon the bombardment recommenced. The troops of the garrison mutinied and they hoisted the white flag. The terms of capitulation were the following, as shown in the original writing which is still extant.

**529. SURRENDER
OF TRINCOMALIE**

“The garrison of Trincomalie in consideration of the defence they have made will be allowed to march out of the Fort with the Honours of War, Drums beating and Colours flying, to the Glacis, where they will ground their arms and surrender themselves prisoners of war, the officers keeping their swords. Private property will be secured to them, but all public property, papers, guns, stores, and provisions of every kind must be delivered up in their present condition to the officers appointed by us to receive them.

**530. TERMS OF
SURRENDER**

The garrison to march out and the British troops to be put in possession of the Fort in one hour after the

August

The Garrison of Trincomalee in consideration of the defence they have made, will be allowed to march out of the Fort with the Honors of War, the Guns leading in 2 Colours flying to the Guns, where they will ground their arms and surrender themselves Prisoners of War. The Officers keeping their Swords, Private Property, will be secured to them and all their Property, Papers, Jewels, their Books, arms of every kind must be secured to them in their present condition to the Officers appointed by us to receive them. —

The Garrison to march out and the British Troops to be sent in possession of the Fort and hereafter the Fortification destroyed — and the Officers of the Garrison of the Fort of Ceylon to be detained as hostages for the performance of this agreement. —

There are thirty six Officers with 10000 British Officers commanding the British Troops. The Garrison can give 10000 British Troops. The Garrison will agree to the performance of this agreement by the Officers who made the hostages within half an hour from the time the agreement is made.

Given under our hands in Camp Trincomalee this 26th day of August 1795

J. G. Foulkes

Wm. Maclellan

1795

Surrender of Trincomalee

Capitulation is signed, and two officers of the garrison of the rank of Captain to be delivered immediately as hostages for the performance of this agreement.

These are the only terms, we the undersigned officers commanding His Brittanick Majesty's Forces can grant. Major Fornbauer, if he accepts the condition, will sign this paper and return it by the officers he sends as Hostages within half an hour from the time he receives it.

Given under our hands in Camp before Trincomalie this 26th day of August 1795.

Sgd. PETER RAINER.

Sgd. J. STUART. „

It was signed by Fornbauer and duly returned, and Trincomalie passed into British hands.

The Fort of Oostenberg which commands the harbour was next besieged and capitulated on 31st August on the same terms as Fort Frederick. A detachment under Major Fraser proceeded against Batticaloa which surrendered on the 18th September. On the 24th Colonel Stuart set out for the reduction of the remaining Dutch towns. Point Pedro was occupied on the 27th and on the following day the fort of Jaffna was summoned and Commander Raket surrendered with the garrison, consisting of 39 Europeans and 98 natives. They asked to be sent to Colombo, but the British refused and took them as prisoners of war. The fort was occupied by British troops, and the men of the regiment de Meuron took service under the British.

On 1st October a detachment under Captain Monson occupied the town of Mullaitivu, while the fort and island of Mannār surrendered to Captain Burton Gage Barbut on the 5th, the request of the garrison to be sent to Colombo being refused. A detachment

531. REDUCTION OF THE FORTS

532. MANNAR AND KALPITIYA

which arrived from Paumben under Captain Bowser was detached against the fort of Kalpitiya which surrendered on 13th November, on being summoned.

As soon as these forts were occupied, the British set about collecting the revenues. A pearl fishery was immediately undertaken, while forces were being collected at Rameswaram for an advance on Colombo.

533. NEGOMBO

Captain Barbut arrived with the troops of Jaffna and was despatched ahead to Negombo which he occupied on 3rd February, as it had been abandoned, the garrisons retiring on Colombo. Colonel Stuart came thither with the troops of Trincomalie and the forces collected at Rameswaram. They left on 10th January in large open boats, and coming over the straits, coasted along Aripo and Kalpitiya, running on shore every evening to cook and eat and sleep on the beach. The rendezvous was Negombo, where they arrived on the day it was occupied by Barbut. A detachment of sepoys arrived the next day from Bombay, raising the troops under the command of Stuart to 2300 Europeans and 4200 sepoys.

These forts were not taken over by virtue of the stadtholder's letter, but captured by force of arms because the stadtholder's letter was disregarded. If they had been merely taken under the protection of the English, they would naturally have had to be restored when peace was made, but by refusing to hand them over according to Hobart's interpretation of the letter, the Dutch Company in Ceylon gave the English a justification for taking them by force. On the other hand, the political council could not well adopt any other course, for if their country was a republic by common consent and at war with the English, while the stadtholder was a fugitive and the guest of the English, they had no

534. EMBARRASSMENT OF DUTCH

choice in the matter, and decided on the more honourable course of surrendering to force rather than tamely yielding to an order, hostile to the interests of their country and nation. They hoped, however, that their possessions would be restored to them when peace was made.

CHAPTER XXIII. CAPITULATION OF COLOMBO

I.

PREPARATIONS

The Madras Government was very anxious to occupy the remaining settlements without bloodshed and without expense, and made the governor of Colombo another offer of protection in the shape of complete assumption of government. To persuade him to do so without hesitation, Hobart communicated a piece of intelligence which was calculated to expedite the delivery. This was the announcement that the British government had acquired the service of the regiment de Meuron which was the principal part of the defence of Colombo in case of a siege.

**535. PREPARA-
TIONS AGAINST
COLOMBO**

This transfer was the work of a far-sighted Scotch professor, Hugh Cleghorn, who was afterwards the first colonial secretary of Ceylon. Cleghorn had formed the friendship of the Count de Meuron, the proprietor and colonel of the regiment, who was very bitter against the Dutch; and it occurred to Cleghorn that, if he could secure the transfer of this regiment from the Dutch to the English service, the conquest of Ceylon would be a very cheap and easy matter. He immediately communicated with the English cabinet and effected the transfer at Neufchâtel in Switzerland on 30th March 1795. Count de Meuron was persuaded to come to India with Cleghorn and started off by the overland route from Venice to Alexandria and Cairo

**536. TRANSFER
OF THE
REGIMENT
DE MEURON**

and thence by caravan to Suez where they embarked and reached Madras, just after the surrender of Trincomalie. The news of the transfer of the regiment was surreptitiously communicated to the Count's brother, Pierre Frederic de Meuron, in a Dutch cheese, and Major Agnew conveyed the official news to Governor van Angelbeck.

The governor threatened to detain the regiment as prisoners of war, but the colonel assured the governor that, if that were attempted, they would bring the matter to instant issue in the fort, whereupon he was obliged to consent, and the transfer was effected, on condition that the regiment would not be employed in the siege of Colombo. Thus 600 European troops were withdrawn from the defence of Colombo and added to the strength of the British forces in India without the expenses of levy or transport, and Cleghorn claimed to have saved the English Company a sum nearly equal to £100 per man. Besides depriving the garrison of Colombo of the main part of its defence, the English prevented supplies being thrown into Colombo or the large stock of merchandise in the stores being exported. Colonel de Meuron had been the chief engineer in Colombo and was able to give the besieging force most valuable information.

Intent on occupying all the Dutch settlements in Ceylon, the governor of Madras wished to secure the co-operation of the king of Kandy. **538. EMBASSY TO KANDY** Boyd's embassy had been a failure (515) and so also was the British attempt on Ceylon in 1782; but as everything now promised success, Robert Andrews of the Madras service was ordered to go to Kandy immediately after the capture of Trincomalie.

Andrews wrote to the king announcing his mission and asking for provisions for the fort, but as the promised permission to proceed to Kandy had not arrived up to 15th September, and as he was anxious to get back before the setting in of the monsoon, he set out while the British forces were engaged in the capture of the other Dutch possessions. The permission reached him on the way, and at Nālanda he was met by Arrauwawala, disāwa of Tamankaduwa and Mātale, the second or the Udugampahē adigār, who had been despatched to conduct him and who was anxious to negotiate a private treaty on his own account. He promised to espouse the cause of the English, if Andrews would sign an agreement to accept all messages coming from him and not to accept those coming through any other minister. Andrews understood this to be an attempt to enlist the English in an endeavour to secure the first adigārship and declined the offer.

Andrews bravely went through the customary ceremonial and had audience of Rājādi and discussed the draft of a treaty. The ministers insisted that the English should promise that they would never allow the Dutch to re-establish themselves in the island. This promise the English could not give, and Andrews pointed out that they could not take up so serious an undertaking without unequivocal proof of the faithless and oppressive conduct of the Dutch. He also urged that if the English obtained possession of the Dutch settlements without assistance from the king, they would be less anxious to cultivate his friendship than they were. But all arguments were in vain. A party, friendly to the English, whispered in Andrews' ear that if he persisted he would succeed. He there-

539. ROBERT ANDREWS

540. FAILURE OF EMBASSY

fore rejected their arguments. When he wished to examine the treaties between the king and the Dutch, a minister informed him that such an examination was unnecessary as the king's pleasure was a law which no one could dispute.

Finally Andrews suggested that the king should depute some persons to the government of Madras with full powers to enter into a treaty. This was accepted, and Andrews returned to Trincomalie in October. Migastennē and Denagamuwē came as ambassadors and set sail for India with Andrews. They arrived at Madras on 29th December, while preparations were being made at Ramnad for the expedition against Colombo. Lord Teignmouth, the governor-general, was not prepared to commit the English to a treaty promising assistance against the Dutch, though Lord Hobart, who was a bitter enemy of the Dutch, was quite willing to do so. The supreme government pointed out that the amity or disagreement between the English and other nations depended upon the connection of the English and other nations in Europe. It was even possible that peace between the English and the Dutch was being made at that very time in Europe.

This course of reasoning the king's ambassadors could not appreciate. In their eyes the Dutch had no right whatever, though their king had signed the treaty of 1766. For some time they could not even be brought to any cool discussion on the subject; but at last Andrews succeeded in persuading them to accept 13 articles most favourable to the king. One article permitted the king "to employ ships, vessels, and boats, together ten in number, for the purpose of

541. EMBASSY TO MADRAS

542. TERMS OF TREATY

trade" duty free; another stated that the English would not interfere with any of the king's present possessions; that as the king represented many situations to have been forcibly taken by the Dutch, the Company would investigate the subject, and restore the same to the king at the conclusion of peace; that as soon as the English Company became possessors of the Dutch settlements, they would restore to the king a situation upon the coast for the sole and express purpose of procuring an adequate supply of salt and fish.

These were terms far more advantageous to the king than any that had ever been offered before.

**543. ADVANTAGE
OF TREATY**

After a vain attempt to secure still more, the ambassadors signed the treaty on 12th February. It now remained to get the confirmation of the king, and Andrews prepared to set out on another embassy to Kandy for the purpose.

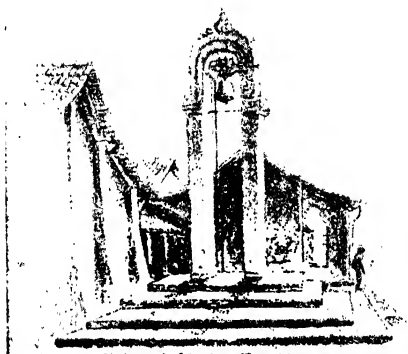
II.

THE SURRENDER

The invading army meanwhile advanced by land from Negombo, leaving the heavy baggage to be conveyed by sea, as cattle could not be procured. Passing Jāela, the army arrived within four miles of Colombo without meeting the slightest resistance. The Dutch sent troops to Pass Betel, Hendala, and Grandpass and appeared to be intent on a defence. But when the English crossed the river unopposed, the Dutch forces fell back on Colombo. The only attempt to withstand the British was made by Lt. Col. Raymond of the Luxenburg regiment who lost his life in an attack on the English seamen as they were landing from their

**544. SIEGE OF
COLOMBO**

ships at Mutwal. The invading force captured Korteboam, marched to Kaymans Gate, driving the



Kaymans Gate

insignificant Dutch force before them, and occupied the Pettah. The Dutch then abandoned Kaymans Gate, withdrew to the Fort, closed the gates, and drew up the bridges.

On the 14th February, Major Agnew came with a flag of truce to demand the surrender of the town and

545. COLOMBO SUMMONED

was conducted with much ceremony to the Fort. The Political Council met to discuss the situation, though it was apparent to all that the authorities meant to surrender, for they had allowed the invading army to advance unopposed right up to the gates of the city. An attempt to hold out against such an army would indeed be foolhardy, as no preparations had been made for standing a siege. People in the city did not know what to think, and many were inclined to believe that the governor was betraying the city. In

the council it was decided to surrender the city by consent of all except Major Vauginè, an officer who had deserted from the regiment de Meuron, and feared the consequences if Colombo surrendered.

There were many and good reasons for the surrender. When the council decided in July to hold out against the English demands, (528) there was some hope of help or instructions from Holland or Batavia or from their French allies ; but never a word came from any of them. There was a talk also that Tippu Sultan would cause a diversion, but it did not take place. There was in the Company's stores an immense stock of merchandise unexported and valued at twenty five lakhs of rupees ; the Company's credit was at a very low ebb : the servants of the Company had not been paid for months ; and what was more, their money had been borrowed by the Company ; the Company's books were in arrears and the administration was faced with bankruptcy.

To add to this the local troops were deserting the Dutch in large numbers ; most of the Indian sepoys had deserted ; Muslims and Malays did likewise ; the government coffers were absolutely empty ; and there was no hope of holding out for more than three days at most. If the city capitulated, there was some chance of obtaining fair terms, but if it refused, it would have to capitulate unconditionally.

The English gave very honourable and advantageous terms. All Dutch officials were permitted to remain as private individuals in the island with a reasonable means of subsistence, subject to the approval of the government of Fort St. George. Those

**546. REASONS
FOR THE
SURRENDER**

547. DESERTIONS

**548. TERMS OF
CAPITULATION**

who wished to quit the island were allowed to do so with all their effects duty free. The military were to be prisoners of war and to be conveyed to Madras at the expense of the English. The clergy were to continue in their functions and receive pay as under the Company. The servants of the Company were given eighteen months to bring their books up to date under pay from the English. All pending cases were to be decided within twelve months in the existing courts; all notarial documents, wills, etc. were to continue to be in force, and the English government undertook the responsibility for all the promissory notes of the Dutch government up to a maximum of £50,000, and would pay three per cent interest as long as they held the lands from Chilaw to Mātara. Should they be restored to the Dutch, the responsibility would revert to the Company.

On these conditions the Dutch undertook to deliver faithfully Colombo and all the places dependent thereon, such as Kalutara, Galle, Mātara, with all the merchandise, stores, and public property on land or laden in the ships. These terms were carried out at ten o' clock on 16th February, and all the settle-

**549. CITY
DELIVERED TO
ENGLISH**



Galle, 1796.

ments of the Dutch East India Company passed into the possession of the English East India Company, without a struggle, without loss of life, without much expense and without let or hindrance from the king of Kandy.

III

DUTCH RULE IN CEYLON

The regime of the Dutch East India Company had lasted well 'over a century. It was not a government

**550. DUTCH
RULE**

by the Dutch nation or by a Dutch sovereign, but government by a commercial company, the V.O.C. (*Vereenigde Oost-indische Compagnie*, United East India Company) which administered the lowlands of Ceylon, not in the interests of the Dutch residents, but purely and crudely in the interests of the Company. The Company governed its possessions just as an



Dutch coin

estate proprietor runs an estate, making the most of it, improving and developing its natural resources, and caring for its inhabitants in so far as they could be of service. The proprietor's will is the law, his interests the supreme concern, his profits, the reward. All other things, law, politics, religion, and education, were subordinated to the one single aim of directly or indirectly increasing the profits of the Company. But unlike an estate proprietor, it had no higher power to take it to task, or to enforce its duties or point out its evils.

Its dealings with the natural sovereign of the country were dictated by the same principles of self interest. It first offered its services to the king against the Portuguese merely to obtain the exclusive control of the products of the land. And without minding the murder of de Weert or Coster, it continued to pursue that end. When the Company became suspicious of the king, it did not hesitate to break its promises and retain the lands in payment for the services, pacifying the king withal by flattery and presents. After the death of the king, it put forward the claim that it held the lands by right of conquest and alternately fawned on the king or bullied him, according as he was able to help or mar the trade of the Company, and the Company put up with insults and humiliations to avoid the expenses of a war and to possess the lands in peace.

Its attitude towards the inhabitants was also actuated by commercial interests. The Company found the people divided into castes and subject to a system of land tenure and *rājakāriya*, and it made very good use of the systems and turned them to its own advantage. The Company's officers were most rigorous in exacting services and customary dues, but when such exactions provoked revolts, they were ever ready to make concessions so as not to let rebellions mar their trade. The Company never employed the people of the country in any salaried administrative post, but only in subordinate offices in the collection of revenue, which were remunerated by grants of land without any burden to the Company. Those who were not Sinhalese, such as Muslims and Chetties, though born and bred in the island, it regarded as foreigners and exacted *ūliyam* service and subjected them to many vexatious restrictions.

But the rule of the Company was in many ways beneficial to the king and people and country. During

**553. BENEFITS
OF THE COM-
PANY'S RULE**

its rule, the king of Kandy was waited upon and humoured as he had never been before or since; his kingdom was generally free from invasion and his subjects undisturbed. The people living in Dutch territory had peace and stable government and courts of law to protect their life and property. They were given many opportunities of increasing their substance by participation in the many industries and agricultural enterprises which the Company promoted.

The printing press, the leper asylum, schools and seminaries were beneficial institutions, though the

**554. BENEFICIAL
INSTITUTIONS**

last named were mostly intended to educate catechists and proponents to make up for the absence of clergymen, and the schools taught the Christian catechism of the reformed religion to forced pupils and little else.

By far the greatest service which the Dutch rendered to this country was the development of its agricultural resources and industries.

**555. DEVELOP-
MENT OF COM-
MUNICATIONS**

Roads for wheeled traffic connected the chief towns, bridges spanned the smaller rivers, and boats ferried the travellers over the larger ones; canals gave cheap and easy facilities of transport, and the irrigation of dry areas and drainage of the marshy ones helped the people. The Company also introduced many new agricultural products or gave better facilities for the cultivation of older products, thus the cultivation of coffee, pepper, cardamoms, and coconut, was greatly encouraged, and the industries of weaving and dyeing of cloth were introduced and fostered. The Company itself bought the products of the land or procured markets, thus adding to its own

profits as well as stimulating the people to trade and industry.

The survivals of Dutch rule such as Dutch forts, churches, buildings, the Dutch system of law, and the
556. SURVIVALS OF DUTCH RULE favourable position of Dutch descendants are due to the English rather than to the Dutch. For when the Dutch became masters, they destroyed all vestiges of the Portuguese domination; they degraded the unfortunate Portuguese descendants by most cruel disabilities; they seized and destroyed Portuguese buildings, "reformed" the Portuguese churches; burnt the Portuguese tombos, proscribed the Portuguese language and persecuted the religion of the Portuguese. The English on the contrary preserved all they could, employed the Dutch in the English service, retained their clergy and churches, kept most of the Dutch building intact, and retained the Dutch legal system.

It is noteworthy that though the Dutch endeavour-
 ed to root out the Portuguese language, it survived to
557. INDO-PORTUGUESE become the home language of the Dutch descendants and the only language of intercourse between the Dutch and the people of the country; and one and a half centuries after the expulsion of the Portuguese, a debased form of Portuguese was the means of communication between the Dutch and English officials and between the early British officials and the people. Likewise in spite of all regulations in favour of the Dutch Reformed Church and the host of forced conversions, the Catholics were by far the largest Christian community in Ceylon at the beginning of British rule, as they are today.

Many Dutch words have been naturalized in Ceylon. As in the case of Portuguese words, it is naturally the things that the Dutch introduced that

still go by a Dutch name. Such are for instance *kokis*, cakes, (kockjes); *aratepel*, potato, (aardappel); *bonchi*, beans, (boonchil); *hak*, hook, (haak); *istōppuwa*, verandah, (stoep); *soldarē*, upstairs, (zoldre); *tarappuwa*, staircase, (trap); *penamas*, penknife, (penne-mez); *lāchchuwa*, drawer, (laatje); *kalukun*, turkeycock, (kalkoen); Legal terms like *būdulē*, estate, (boedel); *kuitānsiya*, receipt, (quitancie); *vendēsiya*, auction, (venditie); *kakussiya*, closet, (kak-huis); *kerakoppuwa*, churchyard, (kerkhof); *takseru*, valuate, (taxeren); *baas*, (superintendent); *notaris*, (notary), *secretaris*, (secretary), *tolk*, (interpreter).

Such is the brief though incomplete account of the Dutch rule in Ceylon. Many facts relating to the Dutch government and the activities of the Company in this island have still to be brought to light, for, though practically every scrap of paper relating to the Dutch occupation still survives, little has so far been studied. The reason is chiefly that these papers are all written in Dutch, which is generally an unknown tongue in Ceylon. Moreover these papers were first kept in the various kachcheries and were inaccessible to students. But now they have been brought together and arranged and are preserved in the Dutch archives attached to the secretariate of Colombo.

These Dutch records consist chiefly of public papers of the government such as tombos, proceedings of the political council and the landraads, memoirs and diaries of governors and other documents relating to agriculture, irrigation, education, and transactions with the court of Kandy. It is altogether a unique collection of valuable manuscripts of which a few have been translated into English.

**558. DUTCH
WORDS IN SIN-
HALESE**

**559. INCOMPLETE
ACCOUNT**

**560. DUTCH
RECORDS**

A
HISTORY OF CEYLON
FOR SCHOOLS

II
THE BRITISH PERIOD
1795-1911

BY
FATHER S. G. PERERA, S.J.

SECOND EDITION

THE ASSOCIATED NEWSPAPERS OF CEYLON, LTD.,
COLOMBO.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTORY—CEYLON AND THE BRITISH - - - - -	I
THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON	
II. BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON, 1795-1796 -	12
III. THE MARITIME PROVINCES UNDER THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1795-1798 -	29
IV. THE MARITIME PROVINCES UNDER THE CROWN AND THE COMPANY, 1798-1801	43
V. THE MARITIME PROVINCES AS A CROWN COLONY—NORTH'S ADMINISTRATION, 1802-1805 - - - - -	57
VI. THE MARITIME PROVINCES AS A CROWN COLONY (<i>Contd.</i>).—MAITLAND'S ADMI- NISTRATION, 1805-1812 - - - -	75
THE KANDYAN PROVINCES	
VII. THE ANNEXATION OF KANDY, 1815 -	88
VIII. THE KANDYAN PROVINCES, 1815-1818 -	III
THE MARITIME AND THE KANDYAN PROVINCES AS DISTINCT GOVERNMENTS	
IX. DEVELOPMENT, 1818-1831 - - - -	123
THE MARITIME AND THE KANDYAN PROVINCES UNDER ONE GOVERNMENT	
X. UNIFICATION OF THE ISLAND, 1832-1850	146
XI. PERIOD OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY, 1850-1912 - - - - -	175
XII. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT - - - -	188
XIII. DEVELOPMENT OF ADMINISTRATION -	198
XIV. DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS -	215
XV. AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT - - -	225
XVI. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT - - - -	233
GLOSSARY AND INDEX - - - - -	251

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG.		PAGE
1.	Robert Knox - - - -	5
†2.	Surrender of Trincomalie - - -	16
3.	Position of Army before Colombo - -	24
4.	Galle, 1796 - - - -	27
5.	Sri Wickrama Rajasinha - - -	49
6.	Gen. Macdowall and Pilima Talauwe -	52
†7.	Arthur Johnston - - - -	69
8.	Seal of Ehelepola - - - -	92
9.	A Mohottala - - - -	105
†10.	Kandyan Throne - - - -	109
‡11.	Bridge of Boats, Colombo - - -	127
‡12.	Satinwood Bridge, Peradeniya - -	128
‡13.	Suspension Bridge, Gampola - - -	129
14.	Dr. Christopher Elliot - - - -	152
15.	A. M. Ferguson - - - -	154
16.	George Wall - - - -	191
*17.	Medagoda Pillar - - - -	210
18.	Colombo Harbour - - - -	218
‡19.	Opening of the C. G. R. - - -	221
*20.	Tonigala Inscription - - - -	243

LIST OF MAPS AT END OF VOL.

1. Ceylon in the XVII Century
2. Ceylon in the XVIII Century
3. Ceylon in British times

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‡ Reproduced by permission of Mr. G. F. Perera

* Reproduced by permission of the Government of Ceylon.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

1. **Ceylon and the British:** 1. Early Visits, 2. English Prisoners, 3. Robert Knox, 4. Detained Indefinitely, 5. British East India Company. 6. Attempts to Liberate Captives, 7. Escape of Robert Knox. II. **First attempts on Ceylon:** 8. Dealings with Kandy, 9. Mission of Pybus, 10. Failure of Mission. 11. Fresh Attempts, 12. Macartney's Plans, 13. Boyd's Embassy, 14. Suffren and the English, 15. French Capture of Trincomalie.

I

CEYLON AND THE BRITISH

The first Englishman to visit Ceylon was 'Master Ralph Fitch, Marchant of London,' whose ship put into Colombo on sixth March, 1588, and remained five days to water. "This Ceylon is a braue Iland, very fruitfull and faire" wrote Fitch in his diary, "but by reason of continual warre with the king thereof (Rājāsinha of Sitāwaka), all things are very deare; for he will not suffer any thing to be brought to the castle where the Portugals be: wherefore often times they have great want of victuals." Two years later, another pioneer sailor of England, James Lancaster, anchored "at a place called Punta de Gale" (Point-de-Galle).

These were accidental visits of sailors "cruizing upon the Portuguese," bent on adventure, piracy, and commerce. The first Englishman to live and die in Ceylon was a Franciscan, Friar Andrew, who was a missionary in Jaffna and was killed in 1629. Another Englishman, a master-gunner in the service of the King of Kandy, was slain in battle against the

Portuguese in 1632. Other English and Scotch mercenaries are also known to have served the Dutch in Ceylon.

In 1659, three years after the Dutch captured Colombo, an English ship *The Persia Merchant* was wrecked off the Maldives. The

2. ENGLISH PRISONERS

crew hired a Maldivian boat and set sail hoping to make for Colombo, but were drifted to Kalpitiya, which was in the territory of the king of Kandy. Thirteen men came on land in two batches and were seized by the king's disāwa and taken to Kandy, while the rest made their way to the Dutch at Mannār. King Rājasinha of Kandy discoursed with the men about their fate, and billeted them in the villages of his kingdom with a promise of setting them free, but detained them indefinitely.

In the following year another English ship *The Ann* came to Kottīār for trade, and remained some time under repairs as she had been

3. ROBERT KNOX

damaged in a storm. Rājasinha sent a disāwa to bring the English to him, hoping by their means to open a correspondence with the English East India Company, which was then established in India. The disāwa came towards Kottīār and sent word to the captain, Robert Knox, to meet him to receive a message from the king. As the disāwa was some miles inland, the captain sent his son Robert with another to wait upon the disāwa and say that the captain could not come so far inland but would come on shore to meet the disāwa. Accordingly he came on shore and was waiting under a widespreading tamarind tree, when he was surprised by the disāwa's men and taken inland along with some others of the crew similarly captured.

The captain was assured that no harm was meant, but that the king desired to send an ambassador to England, and was

4. DETAINED INDEFINITELY asked to order the ship to come up the creek to wait for the ambassador. Knox mistrusted the disāwa and replied that the crew would not obey such a command unless some of his own men were sent back. Two captured sailors were then sent on board, but did not return. Knox explained that so long as he was forcibly detained, the crew would not obey his orders. He was then persuaded to send his son, Robert Knox junior, who warned the crew to be on the lookout and returned to the father, as he had promised, and declared that the ship's crew would not obey the captain. The sixteen prisoners were then kept inactive for two months, whereupon the captain sent an order to the ship to set sail, which she did. The disāwa returned to Kandy leaving the captives; and shortly afterwards another officer came from the king to conduct them to the capital. They were billeted, like the other English captives, and detained indefinitely.

The English East India Company, founded in 1600 for trading in the East, had established itself in various 'factories' in India, at Masulipatam in 1611, at Surat, 1612, at Fort St. George, Madras, 1639, Fort William on the Hugli, (Calcutta) in 1650. In 1661, Bombay was given to Charles II. of England as dowry on his marriage with Catherine of Braganza, the Infanta of Portugal. In the marriage treaty it had been laid down that if the English took Ceylon, they would give Colombo to the Portuguese, and if the latter expelled the Dutch from Ceylon, they would give Galle to the English,

5. THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

and that in either case they would share the cinnamon trade between them. These dealings were well known to the Dutch, and as soon as they heard that *The Ann* was in Kottīār, the Dutch governor sent a force thither, but *The Ann* had meanwhile sailed away, and the Dutch seized and fortified Kottīār. The garrison, however, was soon dying of fever, and the fort was abandoned, especially as it was known that the ship's crew had been taken to Kandy as captives.

Edward Winter, the Madras agent of the East India Company, to whom the captives managed to

**6. ATTEMPTS TO
LIBERATE
CAPTIVES**

send tidings of their fate, sent a ship with presents to Rājasinha in the hope of obtaining the release of the captives, but the Dutch frustrated the object for fear that the English were bent on establishing a factory for cinnamon. In 1664 Winter again sent an envoy with presents, whereupon the Dutch strongly fortified Trincomalie. Rājasinha, who was looking for an ally against the Dutch, then sent a messenger to Madras, but he was captured by the Dutch. However, when England and Holland made peace, the Dutch governor took pity on the English captives who had appealed to him, and made some efforts to secure their release, but Rājasinha, who had detained the Dutch ambassadors and many Dutch prisoners, was not inclined to give ear to the intercession of the Dutch.

Robert Knox and another Englishman, Stephen Rutland, managed to escape to the Dutch at Aripo

**7. ESCAPE OF
ROBERT KNOX**

in 1679 and were sent to Batavia, whence Robert returned to England after a captivity of nearly eighteen years. He wrote a most interesting book on



Captain Robert Knox

Ad vivum delin. et sculpsit R. White, 1695.

*See Knox'es Aspect here by White designd.
Peruse his Book; thou'lt better see his Mind.
Captive, like Jacob's Ofspring, long detain'd:
Like them at last by Grace he Freedom Gaind,
Parting for Spoils they Ægypt's Jewels took.
He Ceylon's left yet (strange!) they'r in his Book.*

Robert Hooke

30 Dec. 1695

Ceylon, and was received in audience by Charles II. Afterwards he took service in the East India Company and became a slave trader and even sent a letter to Rājāsinha. Six other Englishmen also managed to elude the Kandyan watches at various times and escaped to the Dutch. The rest, including some who had deserted from the *Herbert* and the *Rochester* and had been captured in Ceylon, took wives and settled down in the Kandyan kingdom. The attempts made by the English and by Rājāsinha to come to an alliance did not take effect in the lifetime of Rājāsinha.

II

FIRST ATTEMPT ON CEYLON

In the next century, however, when the throne of Kandy had passed to the Nayakkārs of south India, there began dealings between the king of Kandy and the British. In 1761, when Kirtisrī was incensed against the Dutch, he sought the assistance of the English on the suggestion of his Nayakkār relatives who were acquainted with the English Company at Madras. A *vakil* was sent to intimate to the president of Fort St. George that the king would be pleased to receive an embassy from the British to concert measures for the expulsion of the Dutch from Ceylon. The English were then at peace with the Dutch and could not openly violate their treaty obligations with that nation; but they were eager to have a settlement in Ceylon and a share of the cinnamon trade. Accordingly John Pybus, a member of the Madras Council, was despatched on an embassy to Kandy, to find out, in view of future action, what the king was prepared to give in return for assistance against the Dutch.

8. DEALINGS WITH KANDY

Pybus arrived at Trincomalie in 1762 and was conducted to the capital, but the king and his courtiers were very much disappointed to find that the British ambassador was not able to promise any assistance against the Dutch, and was only intent on ascertaining what concessions the king would make. In the event of their assistance, Pybus said, they wished to have a settlement at Kotṭiār, Batticaloa, or Chilaw, and the monopoly of trade. The king was quite ready to grant all this and more if the English would only undertake to help him against the Dutch but, as the ambassador would not make any promise, nothing was concluded.

9. MISSION OF PYBUS

The ambassador therefore returned to Madras ill-impressed with the court of Kandy. The king and the courtiers had such an exaggerated notion of their importance and exacted such abject humiliations from the ambassador that negotiations were repeatedly on the point of an abrupt termination. But Pybus, having come so far, was unwilling to return without an audience and submitted to the ceremonial with ill grace being 'fatigued, hungry, and out of humour.' Moreover, the king and courtiers forgot to supply provisions to the ships that were waiting for the ambassador at Trincomalie.

10. FAILURE OF MISSION

Soon, however, war broke out between Holland and England over the right to search neutral vessels during the war of American Independence. The Dutch colonies then became exposed to attacks from the English, and Lord Macartney came as

11. FRESH ATTEMPTS

governor of Madras with orders to commence hostilities. All the smaller Dutch factories in the neighbourhood of the English were promptly seized. The English fleet blockaded Negapatam, the key to the country of Tanjore, while a ship of the line was despatched to keep guard over Trincomalie. Land forces marched against Negapatam and stormed the city on 11th November, 1781. In January, the fleet under Sir Edward Hughes set sail for Ceylon and captured the fort of Trincomalie on 5th January, 1782, and six days later the fort of Oostenberg was taken by assault.

It was Macartney's intention to follow this up with an attack on Colombo, but before doing so he desired to enter into an alliance with the king of Kandy, not only with the object of obtaining provisions for Trincomalie and assistance for the invading force, but with the deeper intention of asking the king to grant Trincomalie to the English, so that even if a peace between England and Holland forced the English to restore the Dutch settlements captured in war, the harbour of Trincomalie might be retained by virtue of the king's gift. For this purpose Macartney sent his own private secretary, Hugh Boyd, with the naval expedition with letters and presents to the king. Immediately after the fall of Trincomalie, Boyd set out for Kandy.

As the proposed attack on Colombo was to take place in April, Boyd was anxious to treat betimes with the king and set out for Kandy without even waiting for a communication from the king or for a disāwa to conduct him to the capital according

12. MACARTNEY'S PLANS

13. BOYD'S EMBASSY

to custom. It took him a whole month and much trouble and vexation to reach Gannōruwa. But the time was ill chosen. Kīrtisrī had died just three days before Boyd set out. It was Kīrtisrī who had once dealt with the English and who was so hostile to the Dutch that he would gladly have joined hands with anyone that wished to attack them (8,9). The new king, Rājādi Rājasinha, on the contrary, had just assumed the throne unexpectedly and had as yet no time to look round him or decide on a policy. The disāwas likewise were either candidates for the first adigarship or were secret friends of the Dutch. To add to all this, the English had attacked and captured Trincomalie without any communication with the king, who was in consequence very suspicious of their intentions and had forbidden his subjects to hold intercourse with them, for the Dutch had represented the English and their motives for this war in a very ugly light.

Under the circumstances there was little hope of a successful negotiation; nor did the unseemly haste of Boyd augur well for his embassy. The king and courtiers pointedly asked Boyd about the motives of the English in this war. Why were they so fond of war? Why did they wage war so readily on their recent friends? Finally they got rid of Boyd by stating that the king would not enter into a treaty unless it were authorized by the king of England. Boyd returned to Trincomalie on 26th March, and finding that the ship which was waiting to take him back to Madras had put to sea for want of provisions, he hired a vessel and set out. On the very next day he was captured by a French ship. Boyd threw his papers overboard for fear of betraying his identity

14. BOYD

CAPTURED

and recent mission, but the farseeing Frenchman rescued them from the brine and sent them to the Dutch in Colombo where they are still extant in the Dutch Archives.

The ship that captured Boyd was one of the fleet under the command of Bailli de Suffren who was flying full sail to help his Dutch allies against the English.

**15. SUFFREN AND
THE ENGLISH**

Hearing that Trincomalie was taken by the English, Suffren made for that harbour, determined to capture it. On the day after Boyd's capture, the two fleets encountered and fought a most sanguinary but indecisive battle. Suffren put into Batticaloa to refit and sent Boyd prisoner to Madagascar, while the English fleet returned to Trincomalie. The two fleets met again and fought a second battle on 6th July. The English admiral realized that the Frenchman was minded to attack Trincomalie and sent reinforcements under Captain Hay Macdowall to take charge of the fort and put it in a state of defence. But before this could be done, Suffren was upon Trincomalie.

The French fleet arrived on 25th August, landed men, raised batteries and bombarded the fort which was obliged to surrender on 30th August, and Fort Oostenberg the next day. The French admiral conducted operations with feverish haste as he knew that the English fleet would return. Indeed it did return two days later to find to its surprise that the fort had changed hands. The two squadrons closed again off Trincomalie on 3rd September. The battle raged loud and long till night put an end to another drawn battle. The two forts remained in the hands

**16. THE FRENCH
CAPTURE
TRINCOMALIE**

of the French till the Peace of Paris in 1784, when they were restored to the English, who in turn restored them to the Dutch on the same day. Thus ended the first attempt of the British to gain a footing in Ceylon.

For an account of Robert Knox, see **"An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon in the East-Indies, together with an Account of the Detaining in Captivity the Author and divers other Englishmen now living there, and of the Author's Miraculous Escape--By Robert Knox a captive there near Twenty years--London, 1681"**: which is now a very rare book, but it has been reprinted along with his **Autobiography** (a manuscript discovered in the Bodelian) under the title of **"Knox's Ceylon with Autobiography,"** Glasgow 1911. D. W. Ferguson has published many interesting details about Knox, his captivity and his book, in the **Ceylon Literary Register** (Weekly) IV (1896). About other British captives see **"Rajasinha II and his British Captives"** by E. Reimers in the **Journal of the Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)** Vol. XXX. (No. 78), pp. 13-36; and **"British Captives in Kandy"** by S. G. P. in **Ceylon Lit. Reg.** III Series, Vol. I, 284-6.

About the embassy of John Pybus there exists an **"Account of Mr. Pybus's Mission to the King of Kandy in 1762,"** Govt. Press, Colombo, 1862. See also Bulletin No. 3 of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, (1937), pp. 29-35. **The Journal of Hugh Boyd's embassy** was edited by me in the **Ceylon Lit. Reg.** III Series. Vol. IV (1935-6). About the French Capture of Trincomalee see my paper **"French Expeditions against Trincomalee, 1782"** in the **Ceylon Antiquary** V. The Documents that Boyd threw overboard (sec. 14) are now MS. D IIII in the Dutch Archives.

CHAPTER II

BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON

I. The Second Attempt on Ceylon: 17. The Dutch and the British, 18. The Batavian Republic, 19. English Aims, 20. Dutch Accept British Help, 21. But Change their Mind, 22. Surrender of Trincomalie, 23. Terms of Surrender, 24. Reduction of other Forts, 25. Preparations against Colombo. **II. Capitulation of Colombo:** 26. Transfer of Regt. de Meuron, 27. Col. de Meuron, 28. Embassy to Kandy, 29. Its Failure, 30. Embassy to Madras, 31. Siege of Colombo, 32. Colombo Summoned, 33. Reasons for Capitulation, 34. Terms of Capitulation, 35. The City Delivered.

I

SECOND BRITISH ATTEMPT ON CEYLON

The second attempt of the English to seize the Dutch settlements in Ceylon, was made in 1795 and was crowned with success. During 17, **THE DUTCH AND THE AMERICAN** war of Independence the hereditary stadtholder of Holland, William IV. of Orange, remained pro-English while his subjects sympathized with the revolted colonies. This made William very unpopular in the country, and it needed the intervention of Prussia to keep him in power. Holland was made a party to the treaty of 1788 concluded at the Hague whereby the English and the Dutch undertook to help each other against the hostile attacks of any European power in India. Thus the English and Dutch Companies began mutual dealings. The former intervened with its good offices to bring about peace between the Dutch and the Raja of Cochin, and in 1789 the English

Company supplied rice to Colombo, and the Dutch in their turn sent troops to assist the English in their Indian wars.

But in 1794, the French Republic carried the war into Holland, conquered that country, and set up a Batavian Republic in imitation of the French one, forcing the stadtholder to flee to England.

18. THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC

Great Britain thereupon declared war on the Batavian Republic, and that seemed a good opportunity for the English Company to occupy the long coveted settlements in Ceylon. When the news of this revolution reached Colombo through an unofficial channel, the political council met on 12th July, 1795, and decided that if the English should attack them, they would declare that, as they had no official information of the change of government, they adhered to the old constitution of the States-General with a stadtholder; which the council thought would remove all excuse for hostilities. If, however, the English should still be hostile, they would defend Colombo, Galle and Trincomalie to the best of their power.

But meanwhile the stadtholder was persuaded by his English hosts to send an order to the Cape of

Good Hope and Ceylon to admit English troops and ships to prevent them from being seized

19. ENGLISH AIMS

by the French. This letter was sent to Ceylon through the governor of Madras, Lord Hobart, along with ships and troops. While the fleet took troops to Trincomalie, Major Agnew came to Colombo to deliver the stadtholder's letter and a communication from Lord Hobart to announce to the governor that the British proposed to take over the Dutch settlements of Ceylon in terms of the stadtholder's

letter, with the intention of restoring them when peace was made, but to be held meanwhile by the English. If the proposal were refused the English would take the settlements by force.

The political council met again on 25th July to consider this momentous question and rejected the offer of the English to take over the government, but thought it expedient to accept the offer of troops. It was decided therefore to admit 800 men on the same terms as the loan of Dutch troops to the English a few years previously. This decision was communicated to the English who were satisfied for the nonce, and the commander of Trincomalie was ordered to receive 300 British troops into the garrison of Fort Oostenberg. But Major Fornbauer, the commander of Trincomalie, had already heard of the preparations of the English to seize the Dutch forts and had some acrimonious correspondence with the admiral of the English ships that brought the troops to Trincomalie. When he received the order from the governor, he succeeded in detecting a technical error in the order and refused to admit British troops until the matter was referred to Colombo. But the English construed this as a sign of disaffection to the stadtholder and called upon the commander to deliver the fort at once under threat of taking it by force, and landed troops to carry out the threat, but stayed their hand till matters were referred to Colombo.

At this stage a new development occurred. The political council of Colombo received information that the change in the constitution of Holland had been made by consent of the people, and that therefore they were bound to stand by the republic.

**20. DUTCH ACCEPT
ENGLISH
HELP**

**21. CHANGE
THEIR MIND**

They therefore decided not to submit to the protection of the English on the order of the exiled stadtholder. The council therefore withdrew their acceptance of the offer of troops and decided to defend their possessions, namely Colombo, Galle and Trincomalie.

The British forces before Trincomalie were immediately informed of this decision and they at

**22. SURRENDER OF
TRINCOMALIE**

once proceeded to action and opened their batteries on Fort Frederick on 23rd August. In three days a breach was made, and the fort was summoned to surrender. The garrison demanded impossible terms, whereupon the bombardment recommenced. Then the troops within the fort mutinied and hoisted the white flag. The terms of capitulation were the following, as shown in the original writing which is still extant.

“The garrison of Trincomalie, in consideration of the defence they have made, will be allowed to march

**23. TERMS OF
SURRENDER**

out of the Fort with the Honours of War, drums beating and Colours flying, to the Glacis, where they will ground their arms and surrender themselves prisoners of war, the officers keeping their swords. Private property will be secured to them, but all public property, papers, guns, stores, and provisions of every kind must be delivered up in their present condition to the officers appointed by us to receive them.

“The garrison to march out and the British troops to be put in possession of the Fort in one hour after the Capitulation is signed, and two officers of the garrison of the rank of Captain to be delivered immediately as hostages for the performance of this agreement.

Signal

The Garrison of Trincomalee, in consideration of the defence they have made, will be allowed to march out of the Fort with the Honours of War, Drums beating and Colours flying to the flag, where they will ground their arms, and surrender themselves Prisoners of War. The Officers keeping their Swords, Pistols, property, will be secured to them, but all Public Property, Papers, Guns, Stores & Provender of every kind must be delivered up in their present condition to the Officers appointed by us to receive them —

The Garrison to march out and the British Troops to be put in possession of the Fort on one hour after this Capitulation is signed, and the Officers of the Garrison of the Rank of Captains to be delivered immediately as hostages for the performance of this agreement —

There are the only terms, on the understanding the Officers Commanding the British and Majesty's Forces can grant. — Major Tomlinson if he accepts the conditions will sign the paper, and return it by the Officers he sends as Hostages within half an hour from the time he receives it —

Given under our hands in Camp
24th June 1818 on the 26th day of August
1795

J. S. Thomas Wm. Rennie
Attorney

“These are the only terms, we, the undersigned officers commanding His Britannic Majesty’s Forces, can grant. Major Fornbauer, if he accepts the condition, will sign this paper and return it by the officers he sends as Hostages within half an hour from the time he receives it.

Given under our hands, in Camp before Trincomalie this 26th day of August, 1795.

(Sgd.) PETER RAINER
,, J. STUART

It was signed by Fornbauer and duly returned and Trincomalie passed into British hands. —

The Fort of Oostenberg which commands the harbour was next besieged, and capitulated on 31st August, on the same terms. A
24. REDUCTION OF OTHER FORTS detachment under Major Fraser proceeded to Batticaloa, which surrendered on the 18th September. On the 24th, Colonel Stuart set out for the reduction of the remaining Dutch towns. Point Pedro was occupied on the 27th, and on the following day the fort of Jaffna was summoned, and Commander Raket surrendered with the garrison consisting of 39 Europeans and 98 sepoys. They asked to be sent to Colombo, but the British refused and took them as prisoners of war. The fort was occupied by British troops, and the men of the Regiment de Meuron took service under the British.

On 1st October a detachment under Captain Monson occupied the town of Mullativu, while the fort and island of Mannār surrendered to Captain Burton Gage Barbut on the 5th, the request of the garrison to be sent to Colombo being refused. A detachment which arrived from Paumben under

Captain Bowser was despatched against the fort of Kalpitiya which surrendered on 13th November on being summoned.

As soon as these ports were occupied, the British set about collecting the revenues. A pearl fishery was immediately undertaken, while forces were being collected at Rameswaram for an advance on Colombo. Captain Barbut arrived with the troops of Jaffna and was despatched ahead to Negombo which he occupied on 3rd February as it had been abandoned, the Dutch garrison retiring on Colombo. Colonel Stuart came thither with the troops of Trincomalie and the forces collected at Rameswaram. They left on 10th January in large open boats and coming over the strait coasted along Aripo and Kalpitiya, running on shore every evening to cook and eat and sleep on the beach. The rendezvous was Negombo where they arrived on the day it was occupied by Barbut. A detachment of sepoy arrived the next day from Bombay, raising the troops under the command of Stuart to 2300 Europeans and 4200 Sepoys.

These forts were not taken over by virtue of the stadtholder's letter, but captured by force of arms, because the stadtholder's letter was disregarded. If they had been merely taken under the protection of the English, they would naturally have to be restored when peace was made, but by refusing to hand them over according to Hobart's interpretation of the letter, the Dutch Company in Ceylon gave the English a justification for taking them by force. On the other hand the political council could not well adopt

any other course, for if their country was a republic by common consent and at war with the English, while the stadtholder was a fugitive and the guest of the English, they had no choice in the matter. They therefore decided on the more honourable course of surrendering to force rather than tamely yielding to an order hostile to the interests of their country and nation. They hoped, however, that their possessions would be restored to them when peace was made.

II

CAPITULATION OF COLOMBO

The Madras government was very anxious to occupy the remaining settlements without bloodshed and without expense. Therefore

26. TRANSFER OF THE REGIMENT DE MEURON they made the governor of Colombo another offer of protection in the shape of complete assumption of government. To persuade him to consent, Hobart communicated a piece of intelligence which was calculated to expedite the delivery. This was the announcement that the British government had acquired the services of the Regiment de Meuron which was the principal part of the defence of Colombo in case of a siege. This transfer was the work of a far-sighted Scotch professor, Hugh Cleghorn, who was afterwards the first colonial secretary of Ceylon. Cleghorn had formed the friendship of the Count de Meuron, the proprietor and colonel of the regiment, who was very bitter against the Dutch; and it occurred to Cleghorn that if he could secure the transfer of this regiment from the Dutch to the English service, the conquest of Ceylon would be a very cheap and easy matter.

He immediately communicated with the English cabinet and effected the transfer at Neuchâtel in Switzerland on 30th March, 1795. Count de Meuron was persuaded to come to India with Cleghorn and started off by the overland route from Venice to Alexandria and Cairo and thence by caravan to Suez, where they embarked, reaching Madras just after the surrender of Trincomalie. The news of the transfer of the regiment was surreptitiously communicated to the Count's brother, Pierre Frederic de Meuron, in a Dutch cheese, and Major Agnew conveyed the official news to Governor van Angelbeek.

The governor threatened to detain the regiment as prisoners of war, but the colonel assured the

governor that if that were attempted, he would bring the matter to instant issue with the

**27. COLONEL DE
MEURON**

sword, whereupon the governor was obliged to consent, and the transfer was effected on condition that the regiment would not be employed in the siege of Colombo. Thus 600 European troops were withdrawn from the defence of Colombo and added to the strength of the British forces in India without the expense of a levy or transport, and Cleghorn claimed to have saved the English Company a sum equal to nearly £100 per man. Besides depriving the garrison of Colombo of the main part of its defence, the English prevented supplies being thrown into Colombo or the large stock of merchandise in the stores being exported. Pierre Frederic de Meuron had been the chief engineer in Colombo and was able to give the besieging force most valuable information.

Intent on occupying all the Dutch settlements in Ceylon, the governor of Madras wished to secure the co-operation of the king of Kandy. Boyd's embassy had been a failure and so also the British attempt on Ceylon in 1782; but as everything now promised success, Robert Andrews of the Madras service was ordered to go to Kandy immediately after the capture of Trincomalie. He wrote to the king announcing his mission and asking for provisions for the fort, but as the promised permission to proceed to Kandy had not arrived up to 15th September and as he was anxious to get back before the setting in of the monsoon, he set out while the British forces were engaged in the capture of the other Dutch possessions. The permission reached him on the way, and at Nālanda he was met by Arrauwāwala of Tamankaduwa and Matale, the second or the Udagampahē Adigār, who had been dispatched to conduct him and who was anxious to negotiate a private treaty on his own account. He promised to espouse the cause of the English, if Andrews would sign an agreement to accept all messages coming from him and not to accept those coming through any other minister. Andrews understood this to be an attempt to enlist the English in an endeavour to secure the first adigārship and declined the offer.

Andrews bravely went through the customary ceremonial and had audience of Rājādi and discussed the draft of a treaty.

29. ITS FAILURE The ministers insisted that the English should promise that they would never allow the Dutch to re-establish themselves in the island. This promise the English

could not give, and Andrews pointed out that they could not take up so serious an undertaking without unequivocal proof of the faithless and oppressive conduct of the Dutch. He also urged that if the English obtained possession of the Dutch settlements without assistance from the king, they would be less anxious to cultivate his friendship than they were. But all arguments were in vain. A party, friendly to the English, whispered in Andrew's ear that if he persisted he would succeed. He therefore rejected their arguments. When he wished to examine the treaties between the king and the Dutch, a minister informed him that such an examination was unnecessary, as 'the king's pleasure was a law which no one could dispute.'

Finally Andrews suggested that the king should depute some persons to the government of Madras

30. EMBASSY TO MADRAS

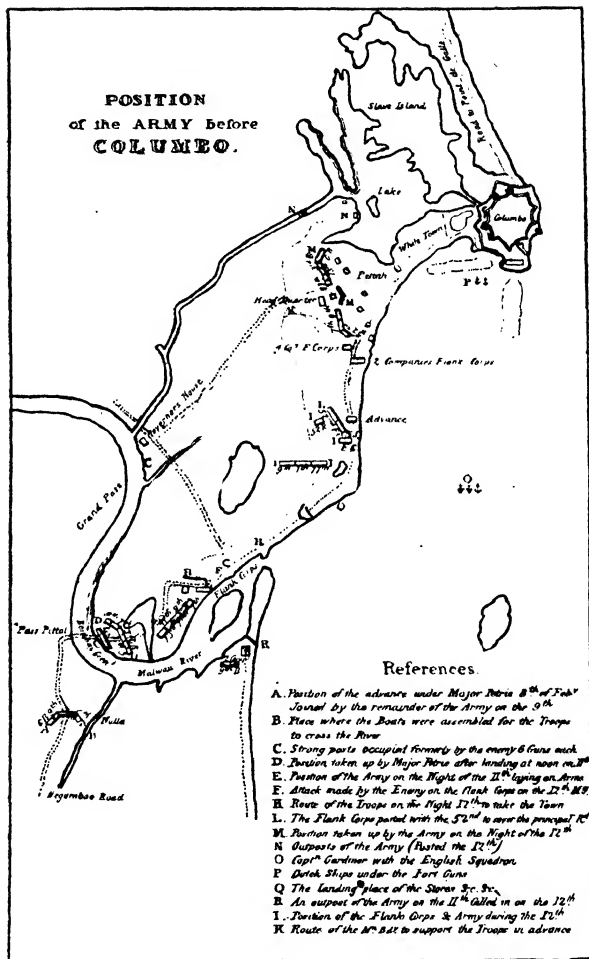
with full powers to enter into a treaty. This was accepted, and Andrews returned to Trincomalie in October. Miġastennē and Denagamuwē came as ambassadors and set sail for India with Andrews. They arrived at Madras on 29th December while preparations were being made at Ramnad for the expedition against Colombo. Lord Teignmouth, the governor-general, was not prepared to commit the English to a treaty promising assistance against the Dutch, though Lord Hobart, the governor of Madras, who was a bitter enemy of the Dutch, was quite willing to do so. The supreme government pointed out that the amity or disagreement between the English and the Dutch Companies depended upon the connection of the English and the Dutch nations in Europe. It was even possible that peace between the English and the Dutch was being made at that

very time in Europe. This course of reasoning the king's ambassadors could not appreciate. In their eyes the Dutch had no right whatever in Ceylon, though their king had signed the treaty of 1766. For some time they could not be brought to any cool discussion on the subject, but at last Andrews succeeded in persuading them to accept 13 articles most favourable to the king. One article permitted the king "to employ ships, vessels, and boats, together ten in number, for the purpose of trade" duty free; another stated that "the English would not interfere with any of the king's present possessions:" "That as the king represents many situations to have been forcibly taken by the Dutch, the Company would investigate, and restore the same to the king at the conclusion of peace:" "That as soon as the English Company became possessors of the Dutch settlements, they would restore to the king a situation upon the coast for the sole and express purpose of procuring an adequate supply of salt and fish."

These were terms far more advantageous to the king than any that had ever been offered before. After a vain attempt to secure still more, the ambassadors signed a treaty on 12th February. It now remained to get the confirmation of the king, and Andrews prepared to set out on another embassy to Kandy for the purpose.

Meanwhile the invading army advanced by land from Negombo, leaving the heavy baggage to be conveyed by sea, as cattle could not be procured in spite of a request made to the Kandyan King. Passing Jâela the army arrived within four

31. SIEGE OF COLOMBO



**Position of the Army before Colombo
16th February, 1796.**

miles of Colombo without meeting with the slightest resistance. The Dutch sent troops to Pass Betal, Hendala, and Grandpass and appeared to be intent on a defence. The English crossed the river unopposed, and the Dutch forces fell back on the fort. The only attempt to withstand the British was made by Lt. Col. Raymond of the Luxenburg regiment, who lost his life in an attack on the English seamen as they were landing from their ships at Mutwal. The invading force captured Korteboam, marched to Kaymans Gate, driving the insignificant Dutch force before them, and occupied the Pettah. The Dutch then abandoned Kaymans Gate, withdrew to the fort, closed the gates and drew up the bridges.

On the 14th February, Major Agnew came with a flag of truce to demand the surrender of the town, and was conducted with much ceremony to the fort. The political council met to discuss the situation, though it was apparent to all that the authorities meant to surrender, since they had allowed the invading army to advance unopposed right up to the gates of the city. An attempt to hold out against such an army would indeed be foolhardy, as no preparations had been made for standing a siege. People in the city did not know what to think, and many were inclined to believe that the governor was betraying the city. In the council meeting it was decided to surrender the city by consent of all except Major Vaugine, an officer who had deserted from the Regiment de Meuron and feared the consequences, if Colombo surrendered.

**32. COLOMBO
SUMMONED**

There were many and good reasons for the surrender. When the council decided in July to hold out against the English demands, (18, 21) there was some hope of help or instructions from Holland or Batavia or from their French allies; but never a word came from any of them. There was a talk also that Tippu Sultan would cause a diversion, but it did not take place. There was in the Company's stores an immense stock of merchandise unexported and valued at twenty-five lakhs of rupees. The company's credit was at a very low ebb; the servants of the Company had not been paid for months; and what was more, their money had been borrowed by the Company; the Company's books were in arrears and the administration was faced with bankruptcy. To add to this, the local troops were deserting in large numbers; most of the Indian sepoys had deserted; Muslims and Malays did likewise; the government coffers were absolutely empty; a Kandyan force was hovering about the frontiers; and there was no hope of holding out for more than three days at most. If the city capitulated, there was some chance of obtaining fair terms, but if it refused, it would have to capitulate at discretion. Thus all things considered, the best thing was to capitulate.

The English gave very honourable and advantageous terms. All Dutch officials were permitted to remain as private individuals in the island with a reasonable means of subsistence subject to the approval of the government of Fort St. George. Those who wished to quit the island were allowed to do so with all

33. REASONS FOR CAPITULATION

34. TERMS OF THE CAPITULATION

their effects duty free. The military were to be prisoners of war and to be conveyed to Madras at the expense of the English. The clergy were to continue in their functions and receive pay as under the Company. The servants of the Company were given eighteen months to bring their books up to date under pay from the English. All pending cases were to be decided within twelve months in the existing courts, all notarial documents and wills were to continue to be in force; and the English government undertook the responsibility for all the promissory notes of the Dutch government up to a maximum of £50,000, and would pay three per cent. interest as long as they held the lands from Chilaw to Matara. Should they be restored to the Dutch, the responsibility would revert to the Company.

On these conditions the Dutch undertook to deliver faithfully Colombo and all the places dependent thereon such as

**35. CITY DELIVERED
TO ENGLISH** Kalutara, Galle, Matara, with all the merchandise, stores, and public property on land or laden in the ships. These



Galle, 1796

terms were carried out at ten o'clock on 16th February, and all the settlements of the Dutch East India Company passed into the possession of the

English East India Company, without a struggle, without loss of life, without much expense and without let or hindrance from the king of Kandy.

For an account of the British occupation of Ceylon see the following: L. J. B. Turner "**The Maritime Provinces of Ceylon 1795-1805**" in the **Ceylon Antiquary** III and IV. reprinted in book form under the title of **Collected Papers: S. G. Perera, S.J. 'British Occupation of the Maritime Provinces'** in the **Ceylon Antiquary** IV. 216 and sqq: Colvin R. de Silva '**Notes on the British Occupation of the Maritime Provinces,**' Ceylon Lit. Reg. III Series, Vol. I and II (1931 and 1932) George Turnour '**Expedition to Trincomalie**' in Bulletin No. 1, Hist. MSS. Commission (1937). Most of the documents connected with the capture of Trincomalie were edited by me in **The Hobart Papers** C. Lit. Reg. I (1931) and **Dutch Documents relating to the Capitulation of Colombo** translated by E. Reimers in **The Ceylon Antiquary** VIII. Angelbeek's explanation of the capitulation is given in a MS. in the Rijks Archief (Hague). A French account is found in C. F. Tombe's **Voyage aux Indes Orientales** (1810) translated in Journal R.A.S. (C.B.) X 365-414.

Regarding the Swiss Regiment de Meuron see **The Cleghorn Papers**, (Diary of Hugh Cleghorn, 1795-1796) London 1927, and my paper **The Swiss Regiment de Meuron** in C. Lit. Reg. I (1931). **The Journal of the Embassy of Robert Andrews** is published in the Journal R.A.S. (C.B.) No. 70, and some documents relating to that embassy are found in Mudaliyar Rasanayagam's translations of **The Tamil Documents in the Dutch Archives** (Bulletin No. 3 Hist. MSS. Commission) where however the statement that there was a Kandyan Embassy to Madras in 1792, is an error.

The Treaty of 1766 referred to in Sec. 30 will be found in Sinhalese text and English translation in Journal R.A.S. (C.B.) XVI 69-75.

CHAPTER III

THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CEYLON UNDER THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1795—1798.

KING OF KANDY:

Rājādi Rāja Sinha, 1782, deposed 1798

GOVERNORS (Military):

Colonel James Stuart	1795—1796
Major-Gen. Welbore Ellis Doyle	1796—1797
Brigadier-Gen. Pierre Frederic de Meuron	1797—1798

I. The British Administration: 36. Company Government, 37. Military Governors, 38. Revenues, 39. The Madras System, 40. Pearl Fishery, 41. Abuses, 42. Discontent. **II. Dealings with Kandy:** 43. Trade, 44. Embassy, 45. Failure of Embassy. **III. Civil Disturbances:** 46. Coconut-tax, 47. Committee of Investigation, 48. Rebellion 1797, 49. Service-Tenure and Headman-system. **IV. Change of Administration:** 50. End of Company Government, 57. Reasons for Change. **V. Kandyan Affairs:** 52. Pilima Talauwe, 53. Deposition of Rajadi, 54. Interregnum.

I

THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

The seizure of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon was the work of the English East India Company.

36. COMPANY GOVERNMENT It was indeed the British cabinet that obtained the letter from the stadtholder, on the strength of which the Dutch were called upon to place themselves under the control of the English (19). It was the cabinet likewise that procured the capitulation of the Regiment de Meuron, (26) which made effective resistance impossible for the Dutch. But it was Lord Hobart, governor of the presidency of Madras, who authorized, and it was the troops of the East India Company that effected, the English occupation of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon. There

was, however, every reason to expect that as soon as the Dutch and the English nations made peace in Europe, the lands now occupied would be restored to the Dutch, except perhaps Trincomalie, which the English had made up their minds to attempt to retain. Under the circumstances, the English administration was expected to be a temporary and probably a short-lived one. Therefore no endeavour was made to set up a proper government, and the new conquests were made an appendage to the presidency of Madras, which soon set about collecting revenue to recover the expenses of the Ceylon expeditions.

Colonel James Stuart, (1795-1796) officer commanding the British forces in Ceylon, was made the chief civil authority under the English, thus giving the settlements a military governor, and making the English occupation a military regime, with no courts save the courts-martial. Governor Stuart appointed military commanders to the forts of Trincomalie, Jaffna, Mannār, Colombo, and Galle, repaired the fortifications of Colombo, and tried to win over the people by relaxing the rigours of the Dutch administration. Thus in spite of the opposition of the Dutch, he proclaimed that the Catholic priests on this island "have my permission to exercise free and uninterrupted the functions of their religion. All persons therefore of whatever description acting under the English authority in this island are prohibited from interfering with them." Stuart was succeeded by Welbore Ellis Doyle (1796-1797), and on his sudden death followed by that of Peter Bonnevaux, Brigadier-General Pierre Frederic de Meuron (27) became military governor (1797-1798.);

37. MILITARY GOVERNORS

The collection of revenue was placed under Robert Andrews of the Madras civil service who was nominated Resident and superintendent of revenue. But as he was engaged in negotiations with the court of Kandy, (30) the duty of superintending the collection of revenue devolved upon his assistant, John Jervis. For revenue purposes, the settlements were divided into three collectorates, the collectorate of Trincomalie, to which were attached Batticaloa and Mullaitivu, that of Jaffna with Mannār and Kalpitiya, and that of Colombo extending from Chilaw to Mātara. The English were still unaware that the Dutch held the littoral strip by the treaty of 1766.

38. REVENUE

These collectors were Madras civilians, new to the island, unacquainted with the language and customs of the people, and completely ignorant of the fiscal system that obtained in this island for centuries and was adopted wholly or partially by the Portuguese as well as by the Dutch. They therefore ignored the customary methods of collecting revenue and foisted upon this country the renting system they were accustomed to in the presidency of Madras. The collector's office was called by a Hindustani word 'the cutcherry' (*H. kachahri*), a name which still survives; they imported from the Indian coast a gang of revenue officials bearing outlandish names *aumildar* (renter), *kotwal* (police), *gumasta* (native agent). In their train came a host of Madrasī farmers of revenue whose number Jervis estimated at 32,000. The traditional headman system of disāwas, mudaliyars and vidhānas went by the board. The method of collecting revenue, the

39. THE MADRAS SYSTEM

persons, the amount, and even the manner of payment, were completely altered. Hitherto holders of land were bound to perform some stated service to the government of the country in return for holdings; but this was abolished by one stroke of the pen and the people were called upon to pay new taxes and dues to new officials in money.

According to the Madras system, the revenues were farmed by private sale and not by auction. The collectors themselves and the *aumildars* were allowed to be renters and to farm the revenues of the Company. They were also the only judicial officers in the country and were authorized to enforce the payment of taxes by judicial punishments. Thus the civil servants and the *aumildars* were collectors, renters, and magistrates, all in one.

This system led to very great abuses. For instance the Company lost no time in organizing a pearl fishery at Aripo even before Colombo was occupied. No fishery had been held for over a quarter of a century, and the fishery of 1796 was expected to yield large returns. It was therefore rented by no less a person than the acting superintendent of revenue, John Jervis, for a very low figure. He expected to be made commissioner of the fishery, but when another was appointed to the post, Jervis backed out of his contract, and the Company had to run the fishery without a renter, at a time when the Company's vessels were needed for the expedition against Colombo. The profits of the fishery therefore amounted to only 93,723 Porto-Novo pagodas or £31,000, while in the following years it brought £107,000 and £123,000 respectively. Afterwards it was estimated that the Company was cheated to the

**PEARL
FISHERY**

extent of seven lakhs of pagodas. These speculations continued for several years and led to the dismissal of more than one Madras civil servant.

The collection of other revenues by Madras renters was conducted in a similar fashion. For

**41. ABUSES IN
OTHER
REVENUES**

instance the arecanut rent of Trincomalie, from which the Dutch obtained about 100,000 rix-dollars annually, was rented by an *aumildar* for 586 pagodas. The rents of Jaffna, when sold by public auction, brought to the revenue a sum which exceeded the amount paid by *aumildars* by 74,000 rix-dollars. The *aumildars* not only abused the confidence of the collectors but acted in a harsh and tyrannical manner which the people of the Maritime Provinces greatly resented. When the superintendent of revenue discontinued the *rājakāriya* of the holders of service lands, he devised other methods of increasing revenue. Besides the rents from fish, salt, arrack, toddy, head-tax, and tolls, taxes were levied on tobacco, turtle-fishing, gaming (cock-fighting), gemming, coconut trees, and ornaments.

These innovations caused widespread discontent. The *disāwas*, *mudaliyars*, *adigārs*, and *vidānas*, displaced by the Madras renters, were the first to resent the change. The Dutch residents, who were expecting to recover possession of their settlements, spread wild stories of the rapacity of the English and the imminence of a French invasion. The people, scandalized by the harsh treatment of the Madras officials and instigated by the headmen and the Dutch, showed their opposition in various ways. When the Madras government was

42. DISCONTENT

informed of this state of affairs and of the difficulty of raising revenue, Lord Hobart himself decided to visit the island.

II

DEALINGS WITH KANDY

In view of Hobart's arrival, Robert Andrews sought to proceed to Kandy to obtain the assent of Rājādi to the treaty signed by his ambassadors at Madras (30).

43. TRADE

The English had been misled into the belief that trade in the products of the island depended on the goodwill of the king, and Andrews who had been engaged in organizing his revenue department, hastened to Kandy in the persuasion that the king, who had sent an embassy to Stuart, was eager to conclude the treaty.

Andrews set out on 26th July, 1796, anticipating no difficulty in obtaining the king's signature to a treaty that was most advantageous to that monarch.

44. EMBASSY

The Company proposed to give the king a situation on the coast for the supply of salt, the right to sail ten vessels of merchandise duty free, and an extension of territory (30). These concessions restored to him the liberty of communicating with foreigners, freedom of trade, and the independence of his country and an uncontrolled supply of salt, of all of which he had been deprived in 1766, and for which he had been quarrelling with the Dutch ever since. The reason why the English were so accommodating was that, though they knew they had acquired the Dutch territories without assistance from the king, they thought they were still dependent on him for cinnamon and trade. They did not

yet know that the Dutch had enough cinnamon in their settlements to meet the world's demand for the spice; nor did they know that the king had given up the whole seaboard to the Dutch by the treaty of 1766. Accordingly in their anxiety to obtain trade concessions from the king, the British offered him most advantageous terms.

Unfortunately for the king, neither he nor his ministers realized the situation. Mīgastennē Disāwa

45. FAILURE OF EMBASSY

paid a visit to Colonel Stuart and was honourably received, but did not ascertain the situation of the English. The Dutch meanwhile gained access to the king through their friends at court and made the monarch believe that a French fleet would soon arrive to oust the English, as was done in 1782 (15). Accordingly the king's officers interposed vexatious delays and irritated Andrews by puerile excuses for their procrastination. Andrews, moreover, was a testy and tactless ambassador, who gave needless offence to the king and his court by his open contempt of the trivial and tiresome, though not degrading, points of court etiquette. He was beside himself when required to halt at Sitāwaka, Aṭṭāpītiya and Gannōruwa in turn, till a formal message was sent to the king, and formal permission was granted to advance on the first, second, and third stages of the journey, as the obsequious Dutch ambassadors had done times out of number. He remonstrated, ridiculed, and threatened to turn back, forgetting that a vain threat was just as bad as a broken promise against which he was inveighing. Eventually he was led to Kandy and had audience of the king. Great was his indignation when the king informed him that he would peruse the treaty at leisure and "apprise

him hereafter." Andrews gave vent to another outburst, but was treated with great indifference and sent back to Colombo without any further allusion to the treaty.

Though Andrews was disappointed, his successors were glad that the king did not ratify the treaty proposed at a time when the English were unaware of the full extent of the rights they had acquired from the Dutch. It was not long before they realized that just as, contrary to their expectations, they had seized the Dutch forts and provisioned them without let or hindrance from the king, so also they were able to trade in cinnamon and all other products of the island without any reference to the king. Indeed they were so independent of that monarch that it was he who was soon compelled to be the suitor and the suppliant.

III

CIVIL DISTURBANCES

On 1st September, 1796, a proclamation was issued imposing a tax of one silver fanam per annum on each coconut tree. This tax was introduced because the holders of service lands, being no longer required to perform services for the government, contributed nothing to the revenue. But as the tax was on trees and not on the produce, and as many trees did not yield one fanam worth of nuts, and as the trees of certain classes of people were exempt, the tax seemed iniquitous. Still the inhabitants offered to pay the tax in kind, but the renters demanded money payment. This demand, coming after the excesses committed by the harsh and unjust introduction of a new fiscal system opposed to the ancient usages

46. COCONUT TAX

of the country and enforced by foreign renters, exasperated the people. Even the enumeration of trees for the purpose of the tax led to opposition and its collection had to be effected "at the point of the bayonet" as the governor himself expressed it. Doyle who had succeeded Stuart suspended the tax in March, 1797, and represented matters to the governor of Madras.

Accordingly on 9th June, 1797, Lord Hobart, who had recently paid a visit to the settlements, appointed a committee to investigate the state of revenue and other matters connected with the administration of the country. This committee consisted of three persons, Brigadier-General de Meuron, president, Major Agnew and Robert Andrews. The president was a man who had resided in Ceylon in Dutch times and was acquainted with the Dutch government (27) and the customs of the Sinhalese. Moreover on the sudden death of Doyle, he was appointed military governor. Major Agnew too was a man of many parts. Andrews on the other hand could not well sympathize with a committee that was to sit in judgment over a system of his own introduction and took very little part in the deliberations. But under the direction of de Meuron and with the patience and energy of Agnew, this committee did a most valuable service to the country and the government. Very patiently the committee inquired into every aspect of the case, remedied the grievances of the people and pointed out the chief mistakes of the Andrews' administration of revenue. De Meuron also examined the Dutch records and brought to light the Dutch methods of collecting revenue and the Dutch treaty of 1766.

47. COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION

But before the committee began its deliberations, Robert Andrews renewed the coconut-tax, which gave rise to open revolts, owing

48. REBELLION

1797

especially to the fact that the renters themselves were the magistrates who enforced the tax. An *aumildar* was murdered by the infuriated populace at Trincomalie. The rioters in the Colombo district entrenched themselves at Kaduwala and Hanwella, and a battalion of sepoy had to be sent against them before they dispersed. The Committee of Investigation immediately proposed and carried a resolution abolishing the coconut tax "as it possibly contributes to the present disturbances." The committee also recommended the appointment of respectable Sinhalese as magistrates for trial of civil cases between the renters and the inhabitants, the exclusion of the Madras dubashes and the re-introduction of service-tenure. Andrews opposed this motion by insisting that the mudaliyars now appointed in Colombo, Galle, and Mātara, should be placed under the superintendent of revenue and not under the representative of government. De Meuron and Agnew would not tolerate this, for they desired the magistrates to be independent of the revenue officers, as they considered the recent disturbances to be due to the union of the powers of magistrate and renter and the delegation of authority to coast Malabars.

In July, 1798, one year after the appointment of the committee, a proclamation was issued by de Meuron that "the Governor of Fort St. George from a desire to adopt such measures for the conduct of affairs in the island, as may be satisfactory to the native inhabitants of the

49. SERVICE

TENURE AND
HEADMAN
SYSTEM

provinces of this island under his government, and conducive to their happiness, has thought proper to direct the re-establishment in great measure of the customs and usages formerly in force. Notice is hereby given to all whom it may concern that from and after the first day of September next the *neynde paravenies* will be as formerly exempt from all payments to government excepting the personal services of their proprietors conformably to ancient usage, and from the same date the requisite number of mudaliyars and other Sinhalese native officers will be re-established in the country to fulfil the functions they formerly held."

VI

CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION

In July, 1798, while the Committee was still engaged in making its investigations, news was received that the home government
50. END OF had decided to withdraw the
COMPANY'S administration of Ceylon from the
GOVERNMENT East India Company. The first proposal was to take over the Government of Ceylon completely under the secretary of state, and Frederic North set out as the first king's governor with Hugh Cleghorn (26) as secretary to the government. But after their departure there was a debate in the India House in consequence of which the secretary of state was obliged to modify his plan of taking over the government completely and even to promise that, if Ceylon were preserved to the English at the peace, the king would again resign it to the Company. Meanwhile it was only the administration of the country that was to be taken over by the king's government. All trade, commercial interests, and the collection of

revenue, were still to remain under the Company's civil service on the Madras establishment for the benefit of the Company. The administration of justice, police, all civil, military, and judicial authority was to be vested in the governor, who was to depend on the secretary of state, but to correspond with the board of directors of the East India Company and be subject to their orders. North arrived in Bombay in July, but owing to the change of plan did not receive his commission till September. Meanwhile the committee continued its investigations and issued its report.

The reason for the change of administration was probably the report of the unsatisfactory state of the island's administration by the Company. There was, moreover, a great deal of discussion in Europe regarding the ultimate disposal of Ceylon. The British were anxious to retain the island or at least Trincomalié. The Dutch on the other hand were pressing for the restoration of their settlements without exception. The Committee of Investigation contemplated the possibility of having to relinquish the settlements and considered it a "measure of policy to leave a favourable impression on the minds of the inhabitants that we may profit by it, should an attempt to regain the possession be made hereafter."

V .

KANDYAN AFFAIRS

The inevitable struggle in Kandy between the Nayakkār and Sinhalese factions was now drawing nigh. The Sinhalese chiefs formed a considerable party, headed by Pilima Talauwe, the first adigār. He was second

51. REASONS FOR CHANGE

52. PILIMA TALAWE

to the king in name but not in power; in craft and ambition he was second to none. He was disāwa of more than one province; his brother had been first adigār before him; his nephew was second adigār now, and the disāwas of Ūva and Mātale were his kinsmen. As first adigār he assumed pomp and magnificence and amassed wealth. Thus by birth, position, power, and ambition he seemed to himself the best fitted to revive the sovereignty of the Sinhalese. The Nayakkārs had also become powerful and numerous and had the support of the conservative disāwas who were jealous of Pilima Talauwe's power and who had now come to acquiesce in the fundamental law, as one of them called it, that the king must be a foreigner from Madura.

In 1798 the adigār profited by the disturbances in the low-country and deposed Rājādi. He was, however, unable to seize the throne, as his ambitious plans were opposed by some of his brother chiefs. According to ancient custom it was the adigār's duty to choose and acclaim a new king, but he abstained from such a course and carried on the government of the country without a king.

53. DEPOSITION OF RAJADI

Rājādi, however, nominated Muttusāmy, his queen's brother, not as successor but as inter-rex, till his queens should choose a son of one of their brothers. The adigār prevented Muttusāmy from assuming power and the queens from choosing an heir, awaiting an opportunity to mount the throne himself.

54. INTER- REGNUM

An account of the second embassy of Andrews written by Lieut. Dennis Mahony is printed in the Journal R.A.S. (C.B.) XXVI (70) pp. 172-229. Correspondence on the subject of

this embassy, with the King of Kandy, will be found in Bull. No. 3 of the Hist. MSS. Commission. The proceedings of the Committee of Investigation are still extant in the Govt. Archives of Colombo; extracts have been published in Bulletin No. 1 of the Hist. MSS. Commission. Extracts from the **Wellesley Manuscripts** in the British Museum are given in the Ceylon Literary Register (Weekly), Vol. II. L.J.B. Turner has an interesting paper on the "**Political Intrigues of Pilima Talauwe**" in the Ceylon Antiquary III. A. Bertolacci "**A view of the Agricultural, Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon**" (London, 1817) pp. 304-311 describes the abuses of the system of tax-farming.

CHAPTER IV

THE MARITIME PROVINCES UNDER THE CROWN AND THE COMPANY

1798—1801

KING OF KANDY:

Srī Wickrama Rājasinha 1798—1815

GOVERNOR (Civil):

The Hon. Frederic North 1798—1805

1. **The New Administration:** 55. The Governor, 56. His Commission, 57. Recommendations of the Committee, 58. The Civil Establishment, 59. The Judicial Establishment, 60. Ecclesiastical, II. **Affairs of Kandy:** 61. Sri Wickrama Rajasinha, 62. Pretenders, 63. Pilima Talauwe's Intrigues, 64. British Plans, 65. Macdowall's Embassy, 66. Its Failure, 67. State of Kandy, 68. Appeals to the British. III. **Principal Events:** 69. The Joy-Tax, 70. Pearl Fishery, 71. Small-pox, 72. Crown Colony.

I

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

The Honourable Frederic North, afterwards Earl of Guilford, arrived in Ceylon in October, 1798,

55. THE GOVERNOR

as the king's governor of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, displacing Brigadier-General Pierre

Frederic de Meuron who had been military governor under the Company. Along with North came Hugh Cleghorn, who, as we have seen, (26) negotiated the transfer of the Regiment de Meuron. He was present at the capture of Colombo, made a tour of the English possessions in the island, returned to report matters to the secretary of state, and was rewarded with a gift of £5,000 and the post of secretary to the government. Besides Cleghorn,

there accompanied North a number of young Englishmen nominated by the crown to assist the new government.

The king's commission under the great seal, dated 26th March, 1798, stated that the sovereignty and government of the settlements in Ceylon were vested in the Crown, and that till further provision was made, North was to be the king's representative in the island, but was to act under the direction of the East India Company, especially in matters of trade and commerce. As king's representative he was to have all civil and military power, the ecclesiastical power commonly called the office of the Ordinary, and judicial power. He also received instructions from the board of directors and from the secret committee of the Company, directing him to employ the Company's civil servants in the collection of revenue, and to conciliate the affections of the king of Kandy and of the people to induce them to trade with the English settlements. In all future proceedings with the court of Kandy, he was to be guided by the governor-general in council, and all negotiations were to be carried on and concluded in the name of the Company.

The principal recommendations of the Committee of Investigation (47) were: 1. the restoration of service-tenure, 2. the abolition of the coconut tax, 3. the banishment of the coast natives, 4. re-establishment of mudaliyars, and 5. a mild and upright administration. These were the findings of de Meuron and Agnew. The former actually carried out the greater part of the reforms. The Dutch courts

continued for twelve months after the capitulation in order to dispose of the pending cases, (34) but on the completion of that period, the judges refused to continue, and de Meuron established courts of equity. Robert Andrews on the other hand was recalcitrant and did all in his power to wreck the work of the committee. The committee also recommended the development of the cinnamon gardens, a monopoly of salt, a capitation tax on Muslims in place of *ūliyam*, import and export duties on arecanut, tobacco, cloth, and arrack. Regarding the treaty with Kandy (45) the committee was of opinion that it was fortunate that the blindness and obstinacy of the king in refusing to ratify the treaty had relieved the English from all obligations towards him. No future endeavours need be wasted to obtain the king's confirmation of a treaty so impolitic. The ability with which the committee had carried out its duties enabled the new government to begin work in peace and tranquillity. The only obstacle was the civil servants of the Madras establishment who still remained, to be a thorn in the side of the new governor.

Governor North found the country enjoying perfect tranquillity after the recent disturbances, and that the recommendations of the committee had been carried out. He therefore set about organizing the machinery of government, practically all the reforms, civil, military, judicial, political, commercial, financial, economic, and medical, being of his own creation. Andrews was still functioning as superintendent of revenue and fixed ambassador to Kandy. North suppressed both offices, and appointed independent collectors at Colombo, Galle, Batticaloa,

58. THE CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT

Trincomalie, and Jaffna, who were to correspond with the government through the chief secretary. The government of Madras as well as the Madras civilians were not satisfied with North's administrative reforms; but he found such gross irregularities and abuses in the conduct of the Madras civilians that he was forced to dismiss a number of them. Cleghorn, too, was unable to agree with North and left the island. The governor soon suppressed the office of collector, and its duties were delegated to "Agents of Revenue and Commerce," stationed at different places, but together forming a board of revenue and commerce with the chief secretary as president. This reform is still commemorated in the name of "Government Agent" which we give in this island to the administrative heads of the provinces, that in India are still called collectors.

North retained the commercial resident, a post which corresponded to the "captain of the cinnamon department" of the Dutch. He placed the cinnamon gardens of Colombo under the care of Joseph Joinville, a learned naturalist, who was at the same time the superintendent of the government botanical gardens at Ortafula or Malwatta. A medical department, a postal department, a survey department, audit department, and an education department were also instituted. The governor employed a French secretary and a Dutch secretary who was in charge of the Dutch archives. With the restitution of the headman-system there was revived the post of mahamudaliyar or the governor's interpreter, about whom North wrote, "The mahamudaliyar is always resident near the person of the governor, never sits down in my presence, nor appears before me in

shoes, but is in fact the grand vizier. Every order I give him is instantly executed, and everything taking place in the island is communicated to me. Their great object is to gain marks of distinction such as sabres, gold chains, medals, etc., by which the Dutch governors well knew how to secure their attachment."

The proper administration of justice was a pressing necessity, as the provisional courts of equity appointed by de Meuron were the only courts in existence. North therefore prevailed upon a young barrister, Codrington Edmund Carrington, who happened to arrive in Colombo, to draft a plan of judicature founded on the general principles of justice and sound jurisprudence, but adapted to the laws and institutions which subsisted in the country under the Dutch. This draft was submitted to the governor-general and, on his approval, proclaimed on 23rd September, 1799.

By the king's commission North was made president of a supreme court of judicature, consisting of the governor, the commander-in-chief and the chief secretary. This court was to hold circuit every six months and hear appeals from minor courts. The criminal functions of the three chief Dutch courts of Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle, were consolidated into one tribunal; but as the Dutch judges refused to continue their work, the governor was obliged to delay the establishment of the courts of Jaffna and Galle, and prevailed upon the court of equity to continue as a chief civil court. Police courts were set up in Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle, and Dutch county-courts or *landraads* were re-opened at

Colombo, Jaffna, Galle, Mātara, Batticaloa, Trincomalie, Mulaitivu, Mannār, Kalpiṭiya, Chilaw, Negombo, and Kalutara. These county-courts consisted of a president, a tombo-holder and mudaliyars as assessors.

The governor as the representative of the supreme head of the Church of England exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as the king's ministers directed him not to delegate that jurisdiction to another.

60. ECCLESIASTICAL

II

AFFAIRS OF KANDY

We have seen that Rājādi Rājasinha was deposed in 1798 by a faction headed by Pilima Talauwe. As long as the deposed king was alive, Pilima Talauwe did not assume royal power nor place on the throne the inter-rex nominated by Rājādi. (54)

In consequence of this deadlock, the court became a prey to discord and commotion, and the adigār's plan of mounting the throne was violently opposed by the king's relatives and the conservative chiefs. The adigār therefore decided to seek the help of the English and attempted to make friends with them. Meanwhile, on the death of Rājādi on 26th July, 1798, he determined to get rid of his enemies by placing on the throne one of the relatives of the king as a puppet to be moved by him and to be put aside when his plans were mature. The person chosen was a very young man, named Kannasāmy, the son of a sister of Rājādi's queens. He was a "contemptible person, weak in intellect" as the

61. SRI WICKRAMA RAJASINHA

adigār described him. This man was accordingly acclaimed as Sri Wickrama Rājasinha. The adigār made him exile all the Nayakkārs and execute all



Sri Wickrama Rājasinha

the opponents of the adigār. The court again became the scene of violence and bloodshed.

Rājādi had married four queens, two pairs of sisters. The first pair had seven brothers, Muttusāmy, Buddhasāmy, Kunnesāmy,

62. PRETENDERS

Chinnasāmy, Appusāmy, Ayasāmy and Rangasāmy. The second pair had one brother named Kandesāmy. Any one of these could have been chosen king according to the laws of succession introduced by the Nayakkārs. Muttusāmy had the advantage of being nominated inter-rex by the king, but he was a man who had been publicly punished for misdemeanour and was not acceptable. The Nayakkār party appealed to North to intervene on behalf of Muttusāmy, but he refused. Thereupon Muttusāmy escaped to Jaffna, intending to proceed to India to seek assistance from the French; but he was detained at Jaffna and maintained at the expense of North's government. Two other candidates to the throne, Buddhasāmy and Kandasāmy, came to Colombo and were likewise detained and accommodated. A fourth sought refuge with the English at Tuticorin. A petition on behalf of the Nayakkārs was presented to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, asking his intervention, but the English government was not disposed to intervene, and North awaited developments.

The adigār was suspicious of the intentions of the English, and having ascertained to his relief that the English did not intend to support any of the pretenders, he decided to seek such support for himself. He informed North that he wished to discuss a matter of great importance to his government and asked for an interview at Sitāwaka. There

63. PILIMA

**TALAUWE'S
INTRIGUES.**

was an outbreak of small-pox in Colombo which deterred the adigār from coming to Colombo, and a scarcity of rice which deterred the governor from receiving the adigār with his suite of 500 "who would eat up all my rice" as North observed. Accordingly the interview took place at Sitāwaka, and the adigār invited the English to come and take possession of the Kandyan kingdom and uphold him on the throne in return for liberal trade concessions. North indignantly refused the offer and broke off dealings, but in the course of subsequent interviews with North's secretary, the adigār found that the English were ready to undertake the protection of the kingdom and uphold the adigār in his power, if the king's life and dignity were preserved inviolate and the English given the effective control of the trade and military administration, while the civil and judicial administration remained according to the established constitution of the kingdom.

The puppet king was chafing under the restraint and was endeavouring to break free from the dictator.

64. BRITISH PLANS He had pawned the Dutch gifts of former days for ready money to help his relatives; he declined to marry the adigār's daughters and made the daughters of the adigār's principal enemy his queens. In short he was listening to the counsels of the adigār's enemies. The adigār therefore was anxious to take a British force to Kandy on any terms and agreed with the English to make his country an English protectorate and to preserve to the king his title and state, while he himself was acknowledged and upheld as the chief civil and judicial authority.

Macdowall was to be escorted by a large English force which was to remain in Kandy after the treaty to protect the king's life against the adigār's machinations, and to uphold the adigār in his power.

**65. MACDOWALL'S
EMBASSY**

It became pretty clear to the governor that the adigar intended to use the English force to overawe the king and the adigār's opponents, and North hesitated for a time but finally consented to despatch the force in the belief that the king's life was in danger and that the adigār's influence was strong enough to persuade Sri Wickrama to resign to the adigar the power which the adigār himself had granted, for the king's only claim to the throne was that he was placed there by the adigār.

But when the embassy advanced, there was great consternation in the kingdom. The king prepared to flee the capital; the people fled out of the way of the advancing force, and one of the adigār's chief adversaries, the Disāwa Leukē, ranged himself on the king's side and mustered troops to oppose the march of the English. The governor's suspicions of the adigār were confirmed, and Pilima Talauwe's game was up. But he did not give himself away. He persuaded the ambassador to leave the artillery and the greater part of his escort at Ruanwella and proceed to Kandy with a small escort, undertaking to see that the king remained in Kandy and received the embassy. At Gannōruwa, Macdowall was met by the courtiers who discussed the treaty and declined the protection of the English. Upon this the adigār tried to bring about a rupture between the English and the court,

66. ITS FAILURE

but failed in that also. But the ambassador was so keen on making Kandy an English protectorate that he even offered to seize the adigar and his adherents. It was of no avail, and the embassy returned after the customary audience of the king and the exchange of presents.

The real state of the kingdom was deplorable. Even the king's foremost supporters were ready to support an English invasion, but what they did not want was the ascendancy of the adigār. What the Sinhalese chiefs desired was to be rid of the Nayakkār domination, not the increase of the adigār's power. That power was, however, so great that neither the king nor the English nor the chiefs dared to break with him.

After the failure of the embassy, which cost £5,000, the king learnt that the governor was well disposed towards him and tried to open communications through the maha-nāyaka of Kandy.

68. APPEALS TO THE BRITISH

Leukē Disāwa and the adigār also made repeated overtures to the governor, so that North was able to report that 'there was scarcely a person of consequence in Kandy who did not make advances to him.' When Colonel Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, arrived at Trincomalie, a large force was being collected there, and the adigār became uneasy and sent hasty messages to Colombo to inquire about the intentions of the English. He had now come to the conclusion that the only way to carry out his cherished object was to make the king commit acts of aggression against the English who would then listen to proposals for his deposition.

III

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

In April, 1800, North introduced a tax called the joy-tax to increase the revenues. The word 'joy' is a corruption of Portuguese word meaning jewel, trinket, or ornament, and it was so called because the tax was levied on the luxury of wearing ornaments of gold, silver, or other metal, stone, pearl, ivory, glass, conch, chank, or bone. Every male person, young or old, was required to take a licence for wearing 'joys' by paying one rix-dollar per annum; and every female half a rix-dollar. This tax, like the coconut-tax, caused unexpected opposition. Disturbances occurred in various parts of the island and detachments of troops had to be sent to disperse the rioters, which led to some skirmishes in which two were killed. The ringleaders fled to Kandyan territory and others surrendered. Afterwards it came to light that Pilima Talauwe had a hand in the riots, and the governor was assured on oath that the adigār made an attempt to cause a revolt in Colombo.

North built great hopes on the pearl fishery of 1799 and appointed Cleghorn and John Macdowall as commissioners, but it led to a great deal of trouble. There was scarcity of rice in the settlements at the time, and a Madras civilian who was in charge of the fishery was involved in the disappearance of 2,752 bags of rice, and the civilian's dubash was accused of pilfering half a lakh of pagodas. Under the circumstances the fishery yielded only £38,000.

69. THE JOY-TAX

70. THE PEARL FISHERY

An outbreak of small-pox caused great alarm in Colombo. This scourge often visited the Island and claimed many victims in the settlements and in the Kandyan kingdom where on this occasion it did not spare the royal family. North immediately started a medical campaign of inoculation. Hospitals were opened in Colombo, Galle, Jaffna, and Trincomalie.

71. SMALL-POX

In September, 1801, news was received in Colombo that the home government had finally decided to separate the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon from the Madras government and the governor-general, so as to make Ceylon an independent crown colony from 1st January, 1802.

**72. CROWN
COLONY**

The dealings with Kandy and Macdowall's Embassy are described in the documents edited by me under the title of "**Kandyan Affairs under the Government of Frederic North**" C. Lit. Reg. I, (1931) and II. George, Viscount Valentia, who visited Ceylon 1803, has a full account of the transactions in his '**Voyages**'. '**The Douglas Papers**' edited by me (Colombo 1933) treats of the circumstances that led to Ceylon being made a Crown Colony. Copies of the Despatches of North are found in the Colombo Archives.

CHAPTER V

THE MARITIME PROVINCES AS A CROWN COLONY

1802—1805

KING OF KANDY:

Sri Wickrama Rājasinha 1798—1815.

GOVERNOR:

Frederic North 1798—1805.

I. Constitution and Policy: 73. The New Constitution, 74. H.M.'s Civil Service, 75. Charter of 1801, 76. Land Policy, 77. Cinnamon Monopoly. **II. The Kandyan War:** 78. Policy towards Kandy, 79. Intrigues of Pilima Talauwe, 80. Causes of the War, 81. Expedition to Kandy, 82. Muttusamy, 83. Pilima Talauwe's Proposals, 84. Convention, 85. Distress of Garrison, 86. Surrender, 87. Massacre, 88. Attack on British Territory, 89. Second Expedition, 90. Effects of the War, 91. Discussion in Parliament, **III. Other Events:** 92. Mutu-
rajawella Scheme, 93. The Govt. Gazette, 94. Government House, 95. Frederic North.

I

CONSTITUTION AND POLICY

The ultimate disposal of the settlements in Ceylon was a subject of much discussion in the negotiations preceding the peace of Amiens (1802). The shareholders of the Dutch East-India Company protested against ceding Ceylon to the English; but as India was the great object of French ambition, the British government was not prepared to part with Trincomalie "the finest and the most advantageous bay in the whole of India in which a whole fleet may safely ride and remain in tranquillity, a bay which is of such importance to the English that it assures their sovereignty over

the rest of India and places them in a position to defend their possessions against all European powers." Accordingly the English pressed for Ceylon and obtained it at the peace and decided to transfer the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon completely from the East India Company and place them under the control of the Crown. This measure was carried out on the 1st of January, 1802, and the island has continued to this day with a government independent of the neighbouring continent.

As the governor was no longer under the governor-general of India, the king appointed a council, consisting of the commander-in-chief, who was ex-officio lieutenant governor, the chief justice and the chief secretary to government and two others. A Ceylon civil service was organized, and those of the Madras service were encouraged to return to the Presidency. The civil service thus started is the oldest king's civil service in the East, and its members have distinguished themselves in various ways, especially in the study of the history and antiquities of the island. The first editor and translator of the Mahāvansa, the first to compile a Pali-English dictionary were members of the Ceylon civil service. These civil servants were appointed as agents of revenue and judges of the provincial courts.

A charter of justice was issued by the king, establishing a new system of judicature in Ceylon. Codrington Edmund Carrington, who had drafted the provisional judicature of 1799, returned to Ceylon as chief justice after a visit to England to

74. H.M.'s CIVIL SERVICE

75. CHARTER OF 1801

consult the secretary of state regarding the judicial establishment. Another English barrister, Edmund Henry Lushington, was appointed puisne justice, and the supreme court of judicature was formally opened on 8th February, 1802, with James Sunderland as registrar. This court was to relieve the governor of his judicial duties and was authorized to enrol advocates and proctors.

A court of civil judicature was established for the fort and town of Colombo, and its jurisdiction was afterwards extended to the district of Colombo. Provincial courts were established in the other towns to administer justice according to the customs and usages of the people. The landraads were abolished, one after another, and their jurisdiction transferred to the civil courts. A justice of the peace sat regularly in the principal towns for the trial of petty police cases and was styled the Sitting Magistrate. The governor, the chief justice, and the puisne justice formed a high court of appeal from all the decisions of all tribunals in the island.

In May, 1802, North reverted to the policy of the Madras civilians and did away with the service tenure which had been re-established by the Committee of Investigation. This hasty action was due to the abuses of the headman-system which the governor found it impossible to remedy. In fact the power of the mudaliyars was so great after the restoration of the headman-system, that the Madras civilians used to complain that North himself was under the influence of his mahamudaliyar. But the governor believed that the discontinuance of the system would lead to great development of commerce and agriculture as well as

76. THE LAND POLICY

to an increase of revenue, for in place of the service which the holders of land had to perform, he now levied a tax of one-tenth of the produce from high lands and one-fifth from the low lands. But the abolition of service greatly crippled the cinnamon trade, and the governor was hard put to it to collect the 400,000 lbs. of cinnamon required annually. This led North's successor to re-introduce the service-tenure. North also did away with the system of paying headmen by grants of land or 'accommodessants,' as they were called by the Dutch, and introduced money payments.

Though the English East India Company relinquished its conquests to the Crown, it was allowed to retain the exclusive privilege of exporting cinnamon from Ceylon. The Ceylon government undertook to deliver to the Company annually 400,000 lbs. of cinnamon for which the Company would pay the government the sum of £60,000. The Company was further to give the government all clear profit beyond five per cent. made on the commodity. The condition of the bargain was that no cinnamon was to be sold or exported from Ceylon except to the Company, save what the agent of the Company rejected, which could be sold for consumption in India or any place eastward of the Cape of Good Hope at a price not below one and three-quarter rix-dollars per pound. In 1806 the Company complained that owing to the indifference of the market it could not clear the prime cost and charges and asked for an additional 50,000 lbs. for the sum they were paying to the revenue of the colony. This continued till 1810 when the parties reverted to the former terms. But in 1813 it was found

77. CINNAMON MONOPOLY

that the Company was making large profits, and the government demanded the surplus beyond five per cent. The Company thereupon agreed to pay £200,000 in compensation, and £101,000 annually. This contract lasted for seven years till, in 1833, the monopoly was removed for good.

II

THE KANDYAN WAR

The administration of Frederic North was marred by a dubious policy towards the king of Kandy. The possession of the uninterrupted belt which follows the whole circumference of the island, hemmed in the entire kingdom of Kandy and placed it virtually under the control of the English with regard to all supplies from abroad and even with regard to salt, an essential article of consumption. The possession of the cinnamon gardens of Maradana and Kadirane made the English completely independent of the king, and the command of the sea and harbours made them masters of the pearl banks and of all other riches of Ceylon. Thus the independent sovereignty of the king of Kandy seemed little better than a name. And if the English could only obtain the military control of that kingdom, they could leave the king his name and dignity and the civil and judicial administration of his subjects, but it would enable the government of the Maritime Provinces to do away with the inland frontiers and the expense of maintaining a line of defence in the interior. The government would have the external line of the coast to defend and nothing more.

78. POLICY TOWARDS KANDY

This was exactly what the adigār offered to give as the reward for assisting him; and though the iniquity of the minister's proposal to do away with the king prevented the governor from accepting his offer, he was only too ready to adopt any just measures that would lead to that consummation. North therefore made many efforts to come to an understanding with the king of Kandy, but without success. In February, 1802, the second adigār Migastennē, disāwa of the Three Kōralēs and son-in-law of Pilima Talauwe, came on an embassy to North, ostensibly to ask for the restitution of some islands on the coast and the right to despatch ten ships, as offered by the English in 1796. (30) The real object of the embassy was, however, to renew the adigār's request for assistance to depose the king. North very curtly declined to listen to him and even refused his request to send an English embassy, and dismissed Migastennē without even the customary presents. Having thus failed to enlist the English on his side, the adigār now boldly decided to provoke the English to hostilities against the king, as North's chief reason for declining to act against the king, was that the king had given the English no provocation.

Disquieting rumours soon reached Colombo that the king was making warlike preparations, mustering troops, and digging covered pits along the paths. In April, North received intelligence that two parties of Muslims, British subjects of Puttalam, who were bringing a quantity of arecanut, exchanged in the Kandyan kingdom for

**79. INTRIGUES
OF PILIMA
TALAUWE**

**80. CAUSE OF
KANDYAN WAR**

salt, salt-fish, cloth, and tobacco, were stopped and molested and their areca confiscated by the orders of Pallegampahē Adigār, as the prime minister was called. North at once despatched his secretary to Puttalam to verify the story, and ascertained that the adigār had sold the confiscated areca to merchants from Colombo. He therefore sent a remonstrance to the king, complaining of the action. After some delay the court replied, acknowledging the acts and asking the governor to direct the merchants to come to the kingdom to receive the confiscated property. The merchants went, but after a delay of 35 days were ordered to come two months later. Two months later North sent a headman to take delivery of the areca. He too was sent back empty handed with a request to come later. North, thereupon, insisted on the immediate delivery of the areca or its value. This was refused, and North determined to march to Kandy to demand indemnification and security against a repetition.

The expedition set out in two divisions. General Hay Macdowall with 2,000 men of the 51st and 19th regiments and 100 Malays and Bengal and Madras artillery set out from Colombo on 31st January with Aspanti Nilame, a Kandyan refugee. Marching by Dambadeniya, Galagedera, and Giriagama, this division reached the Mahaveliganga on 19th February. There it was met by the second division which had set out from Trincomalie on 2nd February under the command of Barbut who also led about 2,000 men and artillery via Badulla. On the 20th February the two divisions entered the city of Kandy. The king, the adigār, and the inhabitants fled, setting fire to the palace and the temples. The

81. EXPEDITION TO KANDY

troops, however, succeeded in extinguishing the flames. They occupied and garrisoned the city and erected two forts, one at Dambadeniya to keep up communications with Colombo and another at Goniavila, called Fort Macdowall (near Mātale), on the way to Trincomalie.

Meanwhile Disāwa Leukē attacked the frontiers, but was repelled, and Macdowall made many

**82. MUTTUSAMY
ACCLAIMED
KING**

attempts to communicate with the king, but without success. The governor, thereupon, thought of enthroning one of the pretenders to whom he had given shelter. Muttusāmy and Kandasāmy were escorted to Kandy (62). The adigār, hearing of this move, attempted to seize the pretenders, but was frustrated by the vigilance of the English. Muttusāmy was proclaimed king of Kandy, and a treaty between the new monarch and the British was drawn up, and a convention was entered into between Prince Muttusāmy and the English. The former "as the undoubted heir to the last king of Kandy" was to receive "the town of Kandy and all the possessions dependent on the crown of Kandy now occupied by the English," and he in his turn granted to the English the province of the Seven Kōralēs and the two hill forts of Giriagama and Galagedera, and a line of land for a direct road from Colombo to Trincomalie. He was also to protect the monopoly of cinnamon and to admit a British resident in Kandy. 'The prince lately on the throne' was to receive a pension. This treaty was to take effect as soon as Muttusāmy should have girded on the sword of state.

In spite of every attempt to induce the chiefs and people to support Muttusāmy, no one came forward. The adigār, finding that the prize he had demanded was being offered to another, now pretended friendship with the English and offered to help them to capture the king. But the detachments sent to Hanguranketa according to his directions met with serious opposition, and the king was not at Hanguranketa. The adigār pressed the troops to pursue him, but Colonel Baillie, who was suspicious of the good faith of the adigār, returned to Kandy instead. Thereupon the adigār cut off communications between Kandy and Trincomalie, and attacks were made on the British settlements. A message was sent to North that the English would gain their object more easily if the king were deposed and the adigār established. North was weak enough to consent to this, if the adigār would guarantee the life and dignity of the king, give the Vanni to Muttusāmy and the Seven Kōralēs to the English. The adigār had no hesitation in consenting to these terms.

"A convention having been entered into between the British Government of Ceylon and His Majesty Muttusāmy, the illustrious Lord

84. CONVENTION Pilima Talauwe, first adigār of the court of Kandy, the second adigār, and the other nobles of the court become parties thereto" on condition "that Muttusāmy deliver over the administration of the country to Pilima Talauwe with the title of Utum Kumāraya during the term of his natural life; that Muttusāmy reside and hold his court at Jaffnapatam and receive the sum of 30,000 rix-dollars per annum;

which pension the English will pay if they receive 20,000 amunams of areca at six rix-dollars per amunam and Fort Macdowall in exchange for Giriagama. All the princes and princesses of the royal family to be free to settle wherever they choose; and a general amnesty given on both sides to all. This convention to come into force as soon as the prince lately on the throne is delivered to the British."

Meanwhile jungle fever began playing havoc with the garrison. Macdowall fell ill and returned

**85. DISTRESS
OF THE
GARRISON**

to Colombo with the sick of the garrison. The adigār asked for a personal interview with North at Dambadeniya in the new British province of the Seven Kōralēs. The adigār, it is said, intended to seize the governor and was only prevented by the unexpected appearance of Col. Barbut. The interview took place. The convention was signed by North and the adigār and was given to Barbut to be taken to Kandy for the signature of Muttusāmy. But Barbut also fell a victim to jungle fever and had to return to Colombo. Thereupon Macdowall who was convalescing returned to Kandy, where he again fell ill and returned to Colombo with his son, leaving the garrison in charge of Major Davie.

Leukē Disāwa then sent a message to North expressing his surprise that the governor should still

trust so "perfidious a villain" as the first adigār "who had deceived the whole world." The adigār called upon Davie to send 600 men to pursue the king, but the major declined. The adigār thereupon tried to corrupt the Malays and cut off 'communications. The garrison then found itself in a precarious

86. SURRENDER

situation. Provisions were running short, the men ill with a Sinhalese army around them. The adigār still pretended friendship and sent a message to Davie that the king intended to attack him on 23rd June. On the 24th a large force actually attacked the garrison and after ten hours' fighting Davie was advised to capitulate. The adigār dictated the terms: The garrison to quit with their arms and proceed to Trincomalie with Muttusāmy; all the stores, ammunition, and artillery to be delivered to the adigār, who would look after the sick and send them to Colombo.

The garrison marched out and was subjected to injuries of every description. The river was flooded and they were obliged to spend

87. MASSACRE

the night by the river side. In the morning a messenger from the king demanded the surrender of Muttusāmy. Davie refused, but the king threatened to destroy them all unless he was given up. The unfortunate man was thereupon surrendered along with Kandasāmy, and both were immediately put to death. One of the sick men of the garrison then arrived, bringing the news that all the sick had been tied two by two and killed. Davie was separated from the rest, the English soldiers from the Malays, and all were ordered to lay down their arms. The latter were invited to serve the king; those who refused were instantly beheaded, the others led away. The soldiers were led back to Kandy, but were taken two by two into a dell where they were butchered by a Kaffir. One, Corporal Barnsley, who was left for dead, crawled out in the darkness and made his way to Fort Macdowall which was under siege. He

communicated the news to Capt. Madge, who spiked the guns and escaped with the able-bodied men, leaving the sick to their fate. Dambadeniya was attacked by the second adigār, but held out till a relieving force enabled the garrison to retreat. Thus within a few days all the British troops in the Kandyan territory were driven out save Davie and Captains Humphrey and Rumley and a Dutch surgeon. The last escaped after some time, the two captains died and Davie alone survived to drag out his days in a miserable confinement, while his superiors, Macdowall and North, made a scape-goat of him to hide their own mistakes, and sent to England an account of the affair which was justly described in the House of Commons as ‘cruel and unfeeling.’ The expedition cost 592 lives, including 300 who died after the return to Colombo.

The Kandyan troops now poured down on the low-country in the expectation of driving the English out of the island.

**88. ATTACK ON
BRITISH
TERRITORY** , Many of the inhabitants of the low-country joined the invaders, and martial law was declared. Colombo, Negombo, Chilaw, Mannār, Jaffna, Mulaitivu, Trincomalie, Batticaloa, Hambantota, Mātara, and Galle were all attacked simultaneously. But the arrival of troops from Bengal and the Cape enabled these stations, all of which held out pluckily and successfully, to be relieved. The king came in person to lead the attack on Colombo with six pounder guns, and beset the fort of Hanwella for three days, but was repulsed so effectively that he fled in disorder, and when overtaken by Leukē Disāwa, the unfeeling monarch ordered that faithful chief to be beheaded on the spot. The British

captured all the arms and standards and recovered the Malays who had been forced by the king to fight against their comrades. The retreating force was pursued into the Kandyan country, and Ruanwella was burned to the ground. In this and the subsequent operations the troops could scarce be restrained from giving vent to their rage; but the officers managed to turn their ire on property rather than on life.



Arthur Johnston

On the arrival of more troops from Bengal and Madras, the governor planned to capture Kandy once more and retrieve the lost reputation. It was planned to march on Kandy simultaneously from Colombo, Negombo, Chilaw, Puttalam, Hambantota, Batticaloa and Trincomalie; but Major

**89. SECOND
EXPEDITION**

General David Douglas Wemyss and North had a difference of opinion, and the expedition was countermanded. However Captain Johnston who was to command the division from Batticaloa did not receive clear notice of the abandonment and marched his little force to Kandy. The king and people fled before it and Johnston, seeing no signs of the other columns, carried out the retreat most gallantly, being the only one save Azevedo to accomplish such a feat.

This devastating war had sad effects on both sides. North's government was greatly disturbed by

**90. EFFECTS
OF THE WAR**

a campaign which cost much blood, money, and reputation. Public works were disorganized and the military establishment increased. The king of Kandy likewise lost credit with his subjects as well as with the British, who attempted to obtain his submission by withholding salt. It is not known whether the responsibility for the massacre should be laid on the king or on the adigar. The king and Davie attributed it to the adigār, who in turn put it on the king. Circumstances, however, seem to show that both were responsible. The king who both feared and hated the adigār was apparently displeased that the adigār should have let the English garrison escape so easily and gave the order which the minister carried out in such a way as to let the blame fall on the king. Pilima Talauwe was now out of favour with both North and the king and lay low. The governor was anxious to put an end to an episode so disastrous to his credit; and when the blockade failed to reduce the king, he suggested

to the monarch to express regret for the massacre, which he indignantly refused to do, and a sullen truce ensued.

The Kandyan war caused great displeasure in England, and questions were asked in Parliament.

**31. DISCUSSION
IN PARLIAMENT**

Mr. Creevy, M. P. in moving for the letters and papers received from North relative to the cause of the hostilities with the king of Kandy, severely criticized the governor. The 'casus' belli' he said was 'whether the sum of £300 should be paid immediately or at the expiration of a few months. It was in this transaction that our national honour was supposed to be involved. For this our government left its lawful occupations and put all the troops in Ceylon in motion to chastise the king of Candy, to invade his dominions and seize his capital.' When the government agreed to table the papers, Creevy moved for copies of all the despatches and letters from the governor to the British officers and from the officers to him. The government objected to this on the ground of inexpediency, and a discussion took place, and a division was taken, the motion being defeated by a majority of 23. But the House expressed its opinion on the subject. Speaking of the proposed second expedition to Kandy, one of the members said: 'India is allowed to be the great object of French ambition; we act upon this supposition in all our political calculations. It is with reference to this that Ceylon derives its greatest importance: it is with reference to India that Trincomalie is beyond all value. Yet, Sir, with a war carrying on in India on an enormous scale, with a French squadron in

the East Indian seas full of troops, so often said to be captured, but still unaccounted for, with French ports full of vessels and troops ready for expeditions, with a necessity at home for our regular army, more urgent than was ever known, and with that regular army more than ever neglected, we are placed in the distressing dilemma that we must, either by withholding assistance from the government of Ceylon endanger our possession of that most important colony, or we must, in this hour of need and necessity, deprive ourselves of a part of our most valuable and rare species of defence. I am informed, Sir, that 10,000 troops of the line are now embarking or have embarked already for Ceylon. I am sure such supply is necessary for the security of the Colony, but I ask the House if they will permit the country to make so important a sacrifice without a full and most minute inquiry into what has caused the necessity for so unfortunate a measure."

III

OTHER EVENTS

Before the Kandyan war broke out, the agent of revenue in Colombo was busy with an attempt to reclaim Muturājawella. The

**92. MUTURAJA-
WELLA SCHEME** scheme was exactly the same as the one attempted by the Dutch just before their disastrous Kandyan war of 1765. (History of Ceylon for Schools, sec. 504.) By keeping out the salt water of the Negombo lake by repairing the Dutch dyke from Tudella to Pamunugama and letting in a supply of

fresh water to be distributed by dykes and canals, it was proposed to irrigate some 6,000 acres of paddy land. When the war broke out, the work had already cost over 45,000 rix-dollars and the completion was estimated to cost another 60,000. The expenses of the military establishment prevented the work and the scheme was dropped.

It was during North's administration that the Ceylon Government Gazette was started in 1802. It

**93. THE
GOVERNMENT
GAZETTE**

not only published official documents, but was intended to serve as a newspaper devoted to literary and political subjects and had room even for merry quips and poetical effusions. It is therefore the oldest newspaper of the island and as old as the crown colony.

North's residence was originally in St. Peter's Fort, but as the house was leaky and dilapidated, he

**94. GOVERNMENT
HOUSE**

shifted to another house in the Fort, then to Hulftsdorp, and finally to St. Sebastian. St. Peter's became the residence of Macdowall. Hulftsdorp was for a long time the office of the disāwa of Colombo. When North abandoned it, the office of the agent of revenue, which was previously in his residence at Tanque Salgado, was transferred to Hulftsdorp. Finally when the military and the judiciary quarrelled about the infliction of corporal punishment on the parade ground of the Fort within sight of the court, and the Fort gates were closed in the face of a judge of the Supreme Court, Hulftsdorp became the permanent abode of law and justice.

North was a courtly nobleman who lived in great state, entertained lavishly, and kept a coach and six. Neither the Madras civilians nor Cleghorn nor General Wemyss could get on with him and it is said that his disagreements with the general hastened his departure. He relinquished office in 1805 and on the death of his brother inherited the Earldom of Guilford.

Regarding the **Cinnamon Trade** see Colvin R. de Silva's article in Ceylon Lit. Reg. III Series. Vol. III. **The Asiatic Annual Register** of 1803, 1804, 1805 gives an "account of the calamitous warfare in which the British Government in Ceylon has unfortunately been embroiled" (General Orders, Despatches etc.). Miss Violet M. Menthly has written on "**The Ceylon Expedition of 1803**" in the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society I, (1919), pp. 92-128; "**More about Major Davie**" in Ceylon Antiquary IV, J. P. Lewis and D. P. E. Hettiaratchi on the same subject in the Journal R. A. S. (C.B.) XXIX 147-185. About the date of Major Davie's death see the Cey. Lit. Reg. IV, 245. Henry Marshall in his "**Historical Sketch of the Conquest of the Colony by the English**" (London 1846) gives the texts of the Conventions between Muttusamy and the British, and between Muttusamy, the British and Pilima Talauwe; also **the Deposition of Corporal Barnsley**. The Diary of the Dutch Surgeon (Greeving) is printed in the Journal R.A.S. (C.B.) XXV (71). Major Johnston's "**Narrative of the Operations of a Detachment in an Expedition to Kandy**" was printed in 1810; and is described in Journal R.A.S. (C.B.) XXIX No. 78 (1925), pp. 43-64.

CHAPTER VI

MAITLAND'S ADMINISTRATION

1805—1812

KING OF KANDY:

Sri Wickrama Rājasinha 1798—1815

GOVERNOR:

Sir Thomas Maitland 1805—1812

I. Administration: 96. The New Governor, 97. Judicial Reforms, 98. Repeal of Penal Laws, 99. Land Policy, 100. Re-establishment of Service-Tenure, 101. Sir Alexander Johnston, 102. Suggested Reforms, 103. Constitutional Reform, 104. Charter of 1801, 105. Trial by Jury, 106. Bazaar Tax. II. **Affairs of Kandy:** 107. King and Chiefs, 108. Unpopularity of King, 109. Plots Against King, 110. Fate of Major Davie.

I

ADMINISTRATION

Lieut.-General the Hon. Sir Thomas Maitland, second son of the Earl of Lauderdale, who succeeded North, was a man of a different cast of mind. On account of the disputes between the military and the executive which prevailed at the close of North's administration, Maitland had a heavy task before him. He had to smooth over the difficulties between the departments, and to reform, regulate, and consolidate the administration of the country by the Crown, begun by North, but not fully developed. The new governor, though a soldier, did not concern himself with war against Kandy, nor enter into diplomacy with Pilima Talauwe, though as a member of the board of

96. THE NEW GOVERNOR

control he had taken part in the discussion in the House of Commons on the Kandyan War (91). He applied himself chiefly to the more urgent task of reorganizing the administration of the country.

He instituted five provincial courts with criminal and civil jurisdiction at (1) Colombo, (2) Puttalam and Chilaw, (3) Jaffna, (4) Trincomalie and Batticaloa, and (5) at Galle. The provincial judges were made distinct from the agents of revenue, and the measure is described as adopted for the convenience of the native inhabitants. The agents of revenue and their assistants were, however, to act as Sitting Magistrates during the absence of the provincial judge on circuit. Maitland also did away with the courts of the justices of the peace and appointed a special magistrate for the port of Colombo. A code of Muhammedan law, diligently compiled by the chief justice, Alexander Johnston, and founded upon the Muslim usages and customs, was promulgated for the use of judges.

On the representations of the same chief justice, Maitland also repealed all the penal laws of the Dutch government against Catholics, which though not acted upon by the English, had remained unrepealed, 'a cause of anxiety to those who profess the Catholic religion'. Catholics were granted the unmolested profession and exercise of their religion and were admitted to all civil rights, thus making Ceylon the first country in the English dominions to emancipate Catholics. All their marriages, contracted according to the rights of the church were declared valid at law in spite of the

97. JUDICIAL REFORMS

98. REPEAL OF PENAL LAWS

non-observance of the forms prescribed by the Dutch. This measure of relief came into force on 4th July, 1806.

The chief and characteristic work of the governor was the reform of the land policy. North, as we have seen, repeated the mistake of the Madras administration of abolishing the service-tenure peculiar to Ceylon, (39) after it had been reintroduced by the Committee of Investigation (57). This hasty step of North had given rise to many disorders. First of all the people of this country whose occupations are regulated by the system of caste, were specially averse to occupations not enforced by caste and generally to all manual labour. They were therefore unwilling to labour at the public works for any remuneration. The Committee of Investigation expressed this very forcibly by the observation that "no temptation of reward within the bounds of reason" would induce an inhabitant of this country to work if he could do without it. North's experience of the country, he declared, had convinced him that this opinion was unfounded. But he was obliged to establish a cooly corps and import labour from India for the performance of the necessary public works. Maitland was faced with the same difficulty in obtaining labour and he declared "that there was no inhabitant in this island but would sit down and starve out the year under the shade of two or three coconut trees, the whole of his property and the whole of his substance, rather than increase his income and his comfort by manual labour." This state of affairs he regarded as the natural result of the abolition of service-tenure.

99. **THE LAND
POLICY**

Moreover, North had hoped that the abolition of the service-tenure would lead to an increase of revenue. The public returns did not show that the hope was realized in the cultivation of paddy or cinnamon or indeed of anything else. On the contrary, large sums had to be spent by the government for the performance of the work which was formerly done by holders of service lands. In 1807 when the failure of the monsoon threatened a famine in India, whence this island obtained its supply of rice, the governor had to issue most stringent regulations for the preservation of rice, paddy, and other grain. The only increase was of crime. The inhabitants who were freed from the obligation of service did not appear to profit by the liberty. Many discarded their usual industries and gave themselves up to disorders to such an extent that there was more crime in one year than there had been formerly in twenty.* In fact the increase of crime was such that Maitland was forced to inaugurate a system of village police, giving rise to the modern police vidhāna, and to issue proclamations against 'plunderers, robbers, and vagrants', threatening banishment to the island of Delft 'there to remain at hard labour for such time as may appear fitting according to the nature of the charge.'

In the face of these facts, Maitland resolved to re-establish the ancient system of service-tenure of land. He had read Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* to some purpose, and pointed out to the Home government that though service-tenure was cumbersome and

**100. SERVICE
TENURE**

RE-ESTABLISHED

* Between the end of March 1805 and the 24th of February, 1806, the Sitting Magistrate of Colombo alone decided 6812 civil and 585 criminal cases, i.e. 22 civil disputes for every working day of the year.

iniquitous, it was but the outcome of the political organization of the people of this country. He held that every country gradually evolved from some similar system to one of commutation of service by a capitation tax and finally to a system of general taxation, instancing as an example the decay of the baronial or manorial system in England owing to economic reasons. Similarly if service-tenure were a burden to the people, they would come voluntarily to commute services. Thus, he concluded, the only remedy was to reintroduce the system, leaving it to be dissolved by the play of economic forces. This was accordingly done.

Maitland was supported in his policy by one of the most broad-minded and energetic officials of his time, Alexander Johnston, who
101. SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTON was afterwards knighted for his services to this country. As a boy, Johnston had come to India with his father who was collector of Madura, where the boy learnt Tamil, Telugu, and Hindustani and imbibed a life-long sympathy for the people. He came to Ceylon as advocate-general and was made chief justice in 1806. In this capacity he made the circuit of the island and made systematic investigations into the customs of the people and the state of the country, and submitted a report on the measures required for the improvement of the island.

He advocated first and foremost the encouragement of agriculture by repairing the ruined tanks and watercourses, and at his
102. SUGGESTED REFORMS request Captain Schneider was commissioned by Maitland to visit and report on the conditions of Galle, Matara, Hambantota, Mannär, Jaffna, and the Vanni districts

the state of the tanks and cultivation, and the improvements that could be attempted. As the cost of undertaking repairs on an extensive scale was too great for the government, Johnston proposed that Europeans and Indians should be invited and encouraged to invest their capital in the venture. Hitherto the government forbade Europeans to acquire land in perpetuity outside Colombo, so as not to make this island a dumping ground for adventurers. Johnston now maintained that this restriction should be removed and that Europeans and Indians should be encouraged to come to Ceylon; and that all monopolies of cultivation and trade should cease. He also urged the establishment of a botanical garden, exhibition of agricultural tools and machinery, and the promotion of a system of general, technical and industrial schools.

Johnston's ideas of constitutional reforms are calculated to take our breath away, for he boldly advocated the establishment of

**103. CONSTI-
TUTIONAL
REFORMS** , a legislative council constituted according to the religious and moral ideas of the people with members elected on a territorial basis, and the abolition of the covenanted civil service in favour of a locally recruited civil service open to all classes of inhabitants of the island. He also proposed the abolition of slavery, the extension of the *Habeas Corpus* act to Ceylon, so as to deprive the government of the right to imprison any man without a full and fair trial. These far-reaching suggestions Johnston placed before His Majesty's Council in Ceylon (78). They resolved that Johnston should go in person to place these proposals before the secretary of state, in 1809. The Marquis of Londonderry who was then

secretary of state accepted all the proposals, but unfortunately the ministry fell, and Johnston was obliged to begin over again with a new secretary who was not in favour of the scheme. However, he returned to Ceylon in 1811, having been knighted in the meantime, with the charter of 1810 establishing trial by jury, and directions for the abolition of slavery, forced labour, and the monopoly of cinnamon, and for the repeal of the prohibition against the Europeans purchasing property in Ceylon.

The charter of 1810 contained innovations of which the governor did not approve. It was drawn up by Sir Alexander and divided the supreme court into two divisions, northern and southern, and placed all the ministerial officers of justice under the chief justice, who, as well as his puisne justice, were to receive enhanced salaries, calculated on a very favourable rate of exchange. Maitland, who returned to England in 1811, succeeded in removing these provisions of the judiciary, and an amended charter was issued in 1811. This charter was published in November by the lieutenant governor, John Wilson. It retained trial by jury, but abolished provincial courts and re-established the landraads.

The introduction of trial by jury was one of the inestimable benefits conferred on this island by Sir Alexander Johnston. Ceylon thus became the first Eastern country in which this system was tried.

105. TRIAL BY JURY

It was a success from the very beginning. Trial by jury means that a certain number of good men and true are sworn in (Latin *juro*, I swear) to judge the truth of the facts on which a criminal charge is

based. The reason why laymen, that is to say persons who are not lawyers or judges by profession, are chosen for this purpose, is because people endowed with ordinary common sense and acquainted with the language and customs and prejudices of an accused person and of witnesses, are best able to judge of the value of testimonies. Some of the principles involved in this system of trial were already observed in Ceylon in the Sinhalese courts known as maha-naduwa and gansabhâwa. But the English system implied certain ideas inconsistent with slavery and caste. Sir Alexander Johnston therefore strove to abolish the former in Ceylon, and though upholders of caste succeeded for a while in introducing the principles of caste into the jury, wiser counsels prevailed in the end. At first a panel of 13 jurors was required for each case, but the number was afterwards reduced.

Like the coconut-tax (46) and the joy-tax, (69) the bazaar-tax, also led to great disturbances. In

**106. BAZAAR
TAX**

India it was the custom to levy a contribution from the traders who came to sell commodities to the troops. This was known as the bazaar-tax. In Ceylon there was no such tax till the English came. The Dutch had a slight tax imposed on shops to cover the expenses of the bazaar-master who superintended the weights and measures and ensured the cleanliness of the place. But Maitland in 1807 imposed a bazaar-tax on articles sold by retail in the public bazaars at the rate of two per cent. upon grain and three per cent. upon all other goods, local and foreign. This led to a number of vexatious and burdensome restrictions which caused

grave discontent. It was therefore abolished and in compensation an additional tax was levied on imports at the same rates.

II

AFFAIRS OF KANDY

The king and the chiefs of Kandy were now engaged in a struggle for supremacy. The king tried to curb the growing power of the chiefs: and the chiefs in their turn attempted to work the destruction of the king. The people, harassed by the chiefs, put the blame on the king, and wished the English would come and take their lands. The king, harassed by the complaints of the people, treated the chiefs with severity, which increased their hatred of him. Thus the chiefs, accused by the people and punished by the king, turned to the English and carried on an intriguing correspondence with the agent of revenue, John D'Oyly, who fanned the flame of discontent in order to reduce the Sinhalese kingdom to accept the terms of the English.

In 1806 Migastennē, the second adigâr and disâwa of the Seven Kōralēs, died. The king seized his property and gave it to his Nayakkâr relatives, and tried the novel experiment of reducing the power of the chiefs by giving the vacant disâwani conjointly to two chiefs. This fell very hard on the people, who had thus to serve two masters and render double service. The people of the Seven Kōralēs like those of the Four and of Sabaragamūwa, were neighbours to the English settlements and knew the conditions under which the British subjects lived and traded. They therefore revolted against the

innovation, and the king failed to reduce them. Pilima Talauwe offered to do it and soon reduced them to subjection by vigorous measures. The disāwani was thereupon divided into two and given to Pilima Talauwe and his son-in-law, Ratwatte.

But the success of the adigâr in quelling a revolt, where the king had failed, excited the jealousy of the monarch. He therefore tried to break the spirit of his subjects and chiefs by employing them in long and toilsome labours. He opened new roads, built a dam to form the upper lake of Kandy, built the *Pattirippuwa* ('Octagon') and a Maligawa, cut a long ditch round Uyanwatte from Kumarupe Widiye (Malabar Street) to Talawatta at Kundesāle. All this meant *rājakāriya* or forced labour which the inhabitants of the different provinces were called upon to perform. The disāwas had to send labourers, often by force, the odium for which fell on the king. The hostility of the people of the disāwanis, adjacent to English territory, was well known to the king and he did not let them remain in Kandy at night. Four ārachchis were appointed to see that the inhabitants of the Three, Four and Seven Kōralēs and Sabaragamuwa, quitted the capital every evening after their day's work.

Pilima Talauwe was now at the zenith of his power, but the crown was still beyond his grasp. He therefore wished to secure it for his son, and as a preparation arranged that his son should marry the natural granddaughter of Kīrtisīri. This was more than the king could stand and he accordingly summoned the adigâr to appear before the *mahanaduwa* and accused him of being the author of all the cruel and unpopular actions of his reign, deposed

108. UNPOPU-
LARIETY OF
THE KING

him from office and sent him to prison, from which, however, he was set free, and permitted to go home and lead a private life. In Kandy there had never been an ex-adigâr, for the good reason that the first adigâr either died in harness or was executed when deposed. But the king was afraid to offend the mighty family of the adigâr and spared his life.

The fallen minister now tried to assassinate the king. He bribed the Malay muhandiram to enter the king's bedroom and stab him on a given day, and Yatinuwara and Udunuwara were then to rise in revolt. But the assassin found the king awake, and the two districts rose in anticipation. Pilima Talauwe, his son and his son-in-law, were immediately seized, tried and condemned. Pilima Talauwe and Ratwatte were beheaded along with six other chiefs, but his son was spared at the intercession of the chiefs. All lands were confiscated, and the king who was in continual fear of assassination moved his residence from place to place and executed all those whom he suspected, among whom was the natural son of Kîrtisîrî.

The king's suspicions of the chiefs knew no bounds, and he attempted to curb their rising power. He encouraged the raṭesabhās and gansabhās and sent a proclamation that, as the disāwas had done injustice to the people and had not carried out the royal orders to redress the grievances of his subjects, he was coming in person to the Three, Four and Seven Kōralēs, and to Sabaragamuwa. He also endeavoured to communicate with the French, and there were rumours of visits of white men to Kandy, and the king was reported to have given orders to catch elephants to be given to these strangers.

To the great disgrace of the English nation, no attempt was made to rescue Major Davie. He

**110. FATE OF
MAJOR DAVIE**

remained a prisoner at Karalliyadda "sick unto death, without money, clothes, or food," as he described it on the scrappy bits of paper scribbled in pencil which he managed to send to his countrymen. But his heart-broken appeals to Alexander Wood, agent of revenue and William Boyd, secretary to government, fell on deaf ears. He was the only man who could have given the true story of the massacre (87), but his superiors preferred to make a scape-goat of him to screen their own mistakes, and from that day to this he has been held up to scorn as a poor specimen of a British officer whose cowardice gave rise to the massacre. Tables would possibly have been turned if the poor man had been given a hearing. "I have done my duty to my Country, but it has not done so to me," he once wrote. Echoes of the reputation he had been given must have added to his bitterness, for he wrote: "I know the character of the absent is always attacked, but you may with truth and honour defend mine. It is the last request of your unfortunate friend, Adam Davie."

The desertion of this unfortunate man is an indelible stain on the government of North. Maitland, who had no great regard for his predecessor, went so far as to offer £2,000 to anyone who would bring Davie; but no one dared to attempt it. The king refused to deliver him unless an embassy was sent, which Maitland would not do on any account. 'Kandy is beneath contempt' he wrote, 'there would be no glory in winning, and no dishonour in remaining as we are. The king would always quarrel

with whatever power held the coast, so that unless we mean to extinguish him, which we certainly are not strong enough to attempt, our only possible course is to ignore the affronts that he offers us and to find our consolation in keeping the peace even if it be rather an ignoble one.' Thus his relations with Kandy were precisely the same at the end of his government as when he took office. From Karalliyadda, Davie was brought ill to Kandy, where he died forlorn in 1812.

About the introduction of Trial by Jury, see **The Jury System in Ceylon: Its Origin and Incidence** by E. W. Perera in C. Lit. Register III (1933-4). The Reports of Captain Schneider are printed in the Cey. Lit. Register (Weekly) II (1887-88). **The Diary of John D'Oyly** has been edited for the R. A. S. (C.B.) by H. W. Codrington. **Letters of J. D'Oyly**, addressed to the Maha Nayaka and Chiefs of Kandy, now in Govt. Archives were translated and edited by Rev. Rambukwelle Siddhartha Thero for the Hist. MSS. Commission (Bulletin No. 2, 1937) and Dr. P. E. Pieris has edited the **Letters to Ceylon** written by the mother and brothers of J. D'Oyly. Maitland's administration of Ceylon is treated in his **Life** by Walter Frewen Lord (London, 1897). The Reforms suggested by Sir Alexander Johnston are given in his **Memorandum** published in C. Lit. Reg. I (1931). The Code of Muhammedan Laws was promulgated on 5th August, 1806. See **Legislative Acts of the Ceylon Govt.**

CHAPTER VII

THE ANNEXATION OF KANDY

KING OF KANDY:

Sri Wickrama Rajasinha 1798—1815

GOVERNOR:

Lt. Gen. Robert Brownrigg 1812—1822

Brownrigg's Administration: 111. Brownrigg, 112. King's Hostility, 113. D'Oyly's Diary, 114. Ehelepola, 115. King's Unpopularity, 116. King's Character, II. **Rebellion of Ehelepola:** 117. Fall of Ehelepola, 118. Molligoda, 119. Ehelepola's Revolt. 120. Its Failure, 121. Plight of Ehelepola, 122. Massacre of Ehelepola's Family, III. **Intervention of the English:** 123. British Aims, 124. Expedition to Kandy, 125. Casus Belli, 126. March of the Expedition, 127. Preliminary Proclamation, 128. The Advance, 129. King's Flight, 130. Capture of King. IV. **The Annexation:** 131. Ehelepola Disappointed, 132. Act of Settlement, 133. The Convention, 134. The Proclamation, 135. End of the Kandyan Kingdom, 136. Dissatisfaction, 137. Of People, 138. Of Ehelepola, 139. Fate of King, 140. First Modification, 141. The Kandyan Throne.

I

On 11th March, 1812, Lieutenant-General Robert Brownrigg assumed the government. His regime was noted especially for the annexation of the kingdom of Kandy to the English Crown. In the Maritime Provinces, he established a Royal Botanical Garden in Slave Island. A garden for botanical purposes had already been begun at Ortafula on 1st February, 1799, with Joseph Joinville as curator. But now on the recommendation of Sir Alexander Johnston a more ambitious scheme was

started on seven acres of land in Slave Island under William Kerr, sent out from England for the purpose. Brownrigg also made a government monopoly of tobacco, set up a provincial court at Kalpitiya; abolished the two divisions of the supreme court and fixed the exchange of the rix-dollar permanently at 1 s. 9 d., so that all officers and military men who hitherto received $9\frac{1}{2}$ rix-dollars to the pound, now received $11\frac{3}{4}$

The state of affairs in the Sinhalese kingdom gave great concern to the governor. A rumour in the low-country stated that the king was preparing an attack on the English whom he looked upon

**112. KING'S
HOSTILITY**

as the supporters of his recalcitrant disāwas. Europeans were said to have visited Kandy and the king was reported to be waiting for a French fleet, on the appearance of which he would fall upon the Maritime Provinces. The king's hostility to the English had increased owing to the overtures which his chiefs were in the habit of making to the English, whenever they were taken to task by him.

In fact one of the English civil servants, John D'Oyly, agent of revenue in Colombo, who had acquired a surprising mastery of the Sinhalese language, spoken and written, and who was now

**113. D'OYLY'S
DIARY**

chief translator to government, was carrying on an extensive system of spying on Kandy. He was in communication with practically every leading Kandyan chief hostile to the king. His minute and detailed diary, recording the information brought to him by spies and messengers, mostly villagers, low-country headmen, Kandyans, priests and Moormen,

gives us an authentic and independent means of checking the accounts of the last days of the Kandyan kingdom written by men on the spot.

On the deposition of Pilima Talauwe, the first adigārship was given to a man who also tried to supplant the king, but only succeeded in bringing about his sovereign's downfall and his own.

114. EHELEPOLA

This was Eḥelēpola, disāwa of Sabaragamuwa. He belonged to the same family and faction as Pilima Talauwe. The king disliked him, but did not dare to disregard the wishes of the chiefs who desired Eḥelēpola. He was indeed the foremost man in the realm after Pilima Talauwe; several of his relatives were disāwas of provinces, and he became the leader of the anti-Nayakkār faction. To counteract his power, the king chose as second adigār a chief who was a well-known opponent of Eḥelēpola, namely Molligoda disāwa of the Four Kōralēs.

The king, who knew that he could not rely on the loyalty of his chiefs, found that his safety lay in punishing them on the first hint

115. KING'S

UNPOPULARITY

of treason, with the result that such charges were frequently brought against chiefs by their adversaries. In 1812, Mampitiya, the natural son of Kirtisrī, was accused of treason and put to death. The king's suspicions extended even to the people of the disāwanis bordering on English territory, and as he now sought to separate the loyal districts of Dumbara, Hewahēṭa, Kotmalē, and Walapane from the rest of his realms, he ordered all persons, not natives of those districts, even priests and Muslims, to quit them at once. Thus families had to be broken up, and much disaffection was aroused.

The suspicion and ill-will of the king greatly incensed the chiefs who had all along been opposed to the Nayakkārs. Many chiefs were indebted to the king's relatives, Molligoda's debt amounting to six thousand pagodas. The king also tried to curb their power by dividing the disāwanis, by changing the disāwa, and above all by bringing them to book when they harassed the people. The chiefs therefore were very eager for a change of dynasty and set up the people against the king and carried on intrigues with the English.

It must not be supposed, however, that Srī Wickrama was a bad king. He was undoubtedly a well-meaning man who was quite anxious to do his duty by his people. His quarrels were with the disāwas, and one of the chief reasons why the disāwas were so hostile to him was that he evinced a determination to protect the people from the vexations of the disāwas who were the real tyrants. It was the disāwas who prevented him from redressing the wrongs of the people; it was the disāwas who set the people against him by quoting his authority for their tyrannies.

II

REBELLION OF EHELEPOLA

On the death of the two sons and two daughters born to the king of his two queens, the daughters of Gampola Deiyo, Srī Wickrama married two other queens, the daughters of Degal Sami. The nuptials were celebrated at Kandy, and all the chiefs had to make the customary presents. Many of the people of Ehelēpola's disāwani failed in this duty,

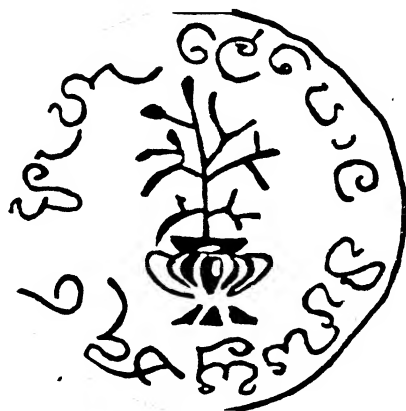
116. KING'S

CHARACTER

117. THE FALL OF EHELEPOLA

and the king who was greatly incensed with the minister, took occasion to belittle his presents and ordered him back to his disāwani.

Ēhelēpola returned to Sabaragamuwa and sought to enrich himself in order to follow in the footsteps of Pilima Talauwe. He hacked and haled the inhabitants of his province, not sparing even those of his own class. Thus when Ēlpāta Nilame died, he seized all his valuables, and when the widow



Seal of Ehelepola

protested, he sent information to the king that the dead man's property was concealed. And acting presumably on the king's orders, he turned the widow and children out of house and home and tortured the dependants to discover the property. These iniquities were attributed to the king, and the indignant people sent messages to D'Oyly that, 'if the English came, every man of them would join'. Ēhelēpola had not accounted to the king for the revenue from arecanut, and an Indian merchant who had come to purchase arecanut in Sabaragamuwa complained to the king that he had been defrauded of his money.

Upon these complaints, the king summoned the adigār to Kandy. Once before Eḥelēpola had been summoned to appear before the king, on foot, without tom-toms or palanquins, to answer the charge of having caused two kōrāles to be stabbed to death. On that occasion he was saved by the intervention of another chief; but now, knowing that his adversary Molligoda, the second adigār, was in favour with the king, he saw what was in store for him and excused himself from responding to the king's summons. It is said that his letter to the king was tampered with by Molligoda. In any case, the king was incensed and deprived him of his office, seized his wife and children as hostages for his appearance at court and appointed Molligoda first adigār.

Eḥelēpola who had been in constant communication with D'Oyly raised the standard of rebellion in January 1814 and offered to place the Sabaragamuwa disāwani under the English. Brownrigg was not willing to accept the offer. Hitherto the British showed sympathy with the insurrection as Eḥelēpola was the executive head of the government and had represented that he and his supporters were trying to resist the unjust exactions of the king. But his deposition placed matters on a different footing. He was now a rebel minister, and Brownrigg could not give or promise assistance against a neighbouring monarch—a thing he had been expressly forbidden to do. It was true that Eḥelēpola still tried to make out that he was only the champion of the people and had risen in defence of custom and to resist innovations and exactions not sanctioned by custom. But it was clear to the

118. MOLLIGODA

**119. EHELEPOLA'S
REVOLT**

British that though there was much disaffection, the real cause of the revolt was a personal grievance of Eḥelēpola. Accordingly though the ex-adigār and his henchman Eknelligoda begged for a British force, however small, or at least for some munitions, the governor persisted in his refusal. It was apparent that if Eḥelēpola had the support of other chiefs and provinces, as he claimed to have, there was little need of British help: that the reason why he was so eager for British help was to win support by making it appear to the people that his revolt had the countenance of the British.

Meanwhile the king took action. He called upon the people of the five *ratas* to support him against Eḥelēpola and despatched
120. ITS FAILURE Molligoda to bring the traitor in chains to Kandy. Molligoda mustered the people of the Three and Four Kōralēs, and Eḥelēpola and his emissaries tried their best to persuade the people to forsake the king and his minister; but they were not prepared to court destruction. D'Oyly, who was watching the situation, reported to Brownrigg that the issue depended on the attitude of Molligoda and his men. If they remained loyal to the king, they could easily rout the insurgents who would break and flee; if they sided with the insurgents and marched to Kandy against the king, the issue would still be doubtful unless they have the help of the British.

In May Molligoda came down in force against the rebels who were at Ruanwella. Eḥelēpola and his supporters still kept on asking for at least "a few soldiers," offering to deliver their "country and all its profits, preserving to themselves their rank, respect and religion." The advance of Molligoda in the direction of the British frontiers gave a good excuse for sending British troops to the borders as

a precautionary measure. D'Oyly himself arrived near the frontiers on 12th May when the loyalists and the insurgents were about to join issue. But without the active intervention of the British the rebellion had no chance, and actually fizzled out. Eḥelēpola's men turned and fled to their homes.

A deputation of Eḥelēpola's supporters waited on D'Oyly to renew the request for British help.

To D'Oyly's question why they took up arms against the king, they declared that it was because of the king's wrongs and injustices. When he asked them to give an instance of the king's injustice, they were not able to give any that could impress D'Oyly. The Sabaragamuwa chiefs wished to deliver to D'Oyly in the name of Eḥelēpola the banners and registers of the province, but the British agent declined to accept what was not now in their power to give. The ex-adigār was greatly dejected. He could not return to Sabaragamuwa, and was unwilling to enter British territory unless he was invited to do so. D'Oyly therefore offered him asylum in British territory, and the erstwhile first adigār definitively passed under the British allegiance.

Molligoda advanced on Sabaragamuwa, dispersed the rebels and took 47 prisoners, whom the king

**122. MASSACRE
OF EHELEPOLA'S
FAMILY**

ordered to be impaled. When the irate monarch learnt that Eḥelēpola had not only gone over to the British but was machinating against him, he wreaked his vengeance on the family of the unfortunate rebel. According to Kandyan custom, an adigār's relatives have to be in Kandy when the minister is away, as hostages for the official's good

behaviour. And every chief who flees from the royal wrath knows that his kith and kin will be punished. Accordingly Eḥelēpola's wife and children, his brother and family were put to death in a most revolting manner. Incensed with the English for giving refuge to a rebel, the king ordered all those who were known to be in communication with D'Oyly to be put to death. Thus Puswelle Disāwa of Nuwarakalāvia, the priest Karatota Kuda Unanse and several others were put to death. He then despatched Molligoda to punish the people of the Seven Kōralēs who had once rebelled against the king and who were known to be supporters of the English (107). Seventy men were thus said to have been executed.

III

INTERVENTION OF THE ENGLISH

The English government of the Maritime Provinces was indeed very anxious from the beginning to reduce the kingdom of Kandy.

123. BRITISH AIMS

This was not from a desire for territorial aggrandisement, but because the peaceful and effective government of the English territory required a satisfactory and friendly understanding with the kingdom in the interior, and the king could not be brought to listen to reason. The embassies of Andrews in 1795 (28) and 1796, (44) of Macdowall in 1800, (65) the expedition of 1803 (81) and its sequel, and the history of the dealings of the Portuguese and the Dutch, which was studied by English officials in London and in Colombo, showed them that no reliance could be placed on a mere paper treaty. On the other hand, the English government was not prepared to use force in the face of public opinion in England and

India. Accordingly the English in Ceylon were for reducing the kingdom to terms by means of the chiefs. This was what North attempted with Pilima Talauwe and what D'Oyly was preparing for under the direction of Brownrigg.

It was at no time the intention of the English to annex the Kandyan kingdom to the Maritime Provinces, though that was what the policy eventually led to. The English policy all along was only to become masters of the natural resources of the country and to acquire its military control, leaving the administration of the civil and criminal law and traditional constitution of the kingdom intact. In other words the object of the English was to make Kandy a 'native state' under the protection of England. Knowing the cast of thought and habits of the chiefs, the English government was quite prepared from the very beginning to let the disāwas and even the king, if necessary, retain their customary dignities and rights and privileges and emoluments. "The sword must be exclusively ours" wrote a secretary of state when his opinion was sought "and the civil government in all its branches must be virtually ours, but through the medium of its ancient native organization."

This long looked-for day now seemed to have dawned. The confusion and disorder in the capital seemed to Brownrigg and D'Oyly
124. EXPEDITION TO KANDY a suitable opportunity for carrying out their policy. Accordingly Brownrigg received Èhèlèpola unofficially at his residence in Mount Lavinia "with the most distinguished kindness and respect." On the one-sided representations of the rebel against his king, Brownrigg promised him his favour and protection.

The idea of sending an expedition to Kandy seemed feasible; the rebellious minister supplied a plan of operations against his country, and Brownrigg hastened to prepare and equip the forces.

It was not thought prudent to act merely at the request of a rebellious minister, and it was decided to sound the feelings of the other chiefs. D'Oyly therefore made overtures to Molligoda and the other chiefs and received satisfactory replies, but the enmity between Molligoda and Eḥelēpola was the chief hitch. As in the case of North's dealings with Pilima Talauwe, the great difficulty was that the English could not well take the field until they had some grievance against the king. And just as Pilima Talauwe had no hesitation in accommodating the English, so also Eḥelēpola had enough influence to procure the English the necessary provocation. The precedent of 1803 must have occurred to Eḥelēpola, for the aggression which justified the English advance of 1815 was a repetition of the drama of 1803.

Ten British subjects trading in cloth in the Kandyan country were punished by dismemberment and mutilation. Seven died on
125. CASUS BELLI the spot and three arrived in Colombo with their harrowing tale. It was afterwards said that these merchants were in reality agents of Eḥelēpola and were punished on the ground of being spies of the English, an explanation which is at least probable. But Brownrigg does not appear to have taken the precaution of investigating the facts before taking action. He considered it a sufficient aggression and prepared for war. Troops were asked from India and an invading army was organized and prepared to march.

According to the abandoned programme of 1804, (89) the army was to advance in eight divisions, two divisions from Colonibo and Trincomalie, one each from Galle, Hambantota, Batticaloa, and Negombo, to concentrate on Kandy.

The first division set out from Colombo with Eḥelēpola and the other refugees, in December 1814

**126. MARCH OF
THE EXPEDITION**

and reached Hanwella where it remained till January awaiting further reinforcements from Madras. The reinforcements did not come and the division advanced to Sītāwaka in January. D'Oyly joined the division to negotiate with the dissatisfied chiefs. The army remained encamped till 10th January, awaiting the success of D'Oyly's attempts. On 10th January some of Eḥelēpola's adherents had an encounter with the loyalists, ten of whom pursued the spies across the Sītā-ganga within sight of the English camp and burnt a cottage in which they had taken shelter. D'Oyly who was the governor's commissary, immediately gave orders to advance, and the division crossed the river and marched to Ruanwella, where the governor arrived on the 12th. A proclamation was drawn up, declaring war and was dated 10th January. It was translated into Sinhalese, as the principal object was to invite the chiefs to join the English standard. On the 13th the proclamation was circulated in the Kandyan country.

This proclamation, which was the work of the same hand that afterwards drew up the well-known

**127. PRELIMINARY
PROCLAMATION**

Act of Settlement or Convention, contained the latter in a nutshell. It rehearsed the reasons for the step and declared that the English were invited to take this step by the unanimous voice of the Kandyan kingdom.

“His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the British Settlements on the island of Ceylon could not hear with indifference the prayers of the inhabitants of five extensive Provinces, constituting more than one half of the Kandyan kingdom who, with one unanimous voice raised against the tyranny and oppression of their ruler, taking up arms in defence of their lives, or flying from their power, implored the protection of the British Government, while the most convincing circumstances indicated corresponding sentiments, from the same causes, in her provinces less within the reach of direct communication. Neither could His Excellency contemplate without the liveliest emotions of indignation and resentment, the atrocious barbarity recently perpetrated in Kandy upon the innocent subjects of the British Government, seven of whom instantly died of their sufferings, and three miserable victims were sent, in defiance with their mutilated limbs, across the limits, to relate the distressing tale, and exhibit the horrid spectacle to the eyes of an insulted government and an indignant people in the capital of the British Settlements.” And after indicating the misdeeds of the king and incursion of an armed Kandyan force into British territory, the governor proceeds; “For securing the permanent tranquillity of these Settlements, and in vindication of the honour of the British name; for the deliverance of the Kandyan people from their oppressions; in fine for the subversion of that Malabar domination, which during three generations has tyrannized over the country, His Excellency has resolved to employ the powerful resources placed at his disposal.

His Excellency hereby proffers to every individual of the Kandyan nation the benign protection of the British government; exhorts them to remain without fear in their dwellings, to regard the armed forces who pass through their villages as protectors and friends, and to co-operate with them for the accomplishment of these beneficial objects.

In their march through the country, the most rigorous discipline will be observed by the British troops; the peaceful inhabitants will be protected from all injury in their persons and property, and payment will scrupulously be made for every article of provisions which they furnish. Their religion shall be held sacred, and their temples respected.

Lastly His Excellency promises, in the name of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, to the chiefs, the continuance of their respective ranks and dignities; to the people, relief from all arbitrary severities and oppressions, with the fullest protection of their property, and to all classes, the inviolate maintenance of their religion, and the preservation of their ancient laws and institutions, with the extension of the blessings, resulting from the establishment of justice, security, and peace, which are enjoyed by the most favoured nations living under the safeguard of the British Crown."

In spite of the proclamation, the people fled from the advance of the troops, and though some headmen and people joined, by far the great majority abstained from supporting the expedition.

128. THE ADVANCE

But there was no opposition. Molligoda and the other chiefs did not openly join the expedition, but facilitated supplies and promised adhesion. On 1st February the main division skirted the Alagalla

range and carried Galagedera and Giriagama to advance by the Weudda *Kadawata*, while the other division ascended Balana and concentrated on Kandy to intercept the flight of the king.

On 8th February Molligoda, the first *adigār*, came to the British camp at Ganēṭenna in procession, bringing elephants, the insignia of the Four Kōralēs and the *lekammiti* or the records of his *disāwani*. Eḥelēpola was in the camp with the governor, but D'Oyly avoided a scene between the two hostile chieftains.

The king meanwhile could not believe that the British would dare to come to Kandy after their experience of 1803. When news was brought that the army had crossed the Sītā-ganga, he ordered the messenger's head to be struck off on the spot. Likewise when he was told that his few followers were routed in the Seven Kōralēs, the messenger was impaled. But when he learnt that his chiefs were deserting him one after another, he lost heart and fled from the capital.

On the very day of the king's flight, the governor issued a proclamation that the 'provinces of the Three and Four Kōralēs and Sabaragamuwa with all their royal rights and dependencies were become and were declared to be integral parts of the British possessions in the island of Ceylon and were received under the sovereignty of His Majesty the King of Great Britain.'

On the 14th a British division entered and took possession of the town of Kandy, the governor having previously issued a proclamation repeating the promises of 10th January. From Kandy detachments were sent with Eḥelēpola to capture the king.

129. THE KING'S FLIGHT

130. CAPTURE OF KING

His hiding place was soon discovered, and the unfortunate monarch was bound, plundered of his valuables, and dragged away with the greatest indignity by the supporters of Eḥelēpola on 18th February.

IV

THE ANNEXATION

The object of the expedition was now accomplished, and the next few days were spent in conducting the captive king and his household to Colombo under escort. There now remained the

131. **EHELEPOLA
DISAPPOINTED**

important task of settling the future government of the kingdom. The promises made by the governor implied that the English were going to assume the government. But though the most important promise was the preservation of the religion and laws and institutions, what gave most trouble was the promise to retain the ranks and dignities of the chiefs. There were two ex-adigārs, Molligoda and Eḥelēpola, who were hostile to each other. The latter had planned the expedition, used his influence to further it and had captured the king, and looked forward to the royal dignity as his due reward. Molligoda, likewise, had helped the expedition, prevented attacks, and furnished the army with provisions; and could claim as good a right as Eḥelēpola to the royal dignity. But he only asked for the first adigārship, which was no more than what he had sacrificed. But he had his aspirations too, in that he did not wish to be subordinated to Eḥelēpola. Srī Wickrama is reported to have said to the British: "Beware of Ehelēpola and Molligoda. They deceived me and they will deceive you."

For some time, therefore, D'Oyly conferred with the two chiefs and others and planned an Act of Settlement of the government of the kingdom. Sri Wickrama was to be deposed; his dynasty excluded for ever; the king of England would assume the sovereignty and everything else would go on as before. The chiefs were summoned to an audience of the governor on 2nd March and the Act of Settlement which D'Oyly had written overnight was read to them.

**132. ACT OF
SETTLEMENT**

The Act of Settlement read at the Convention of 2nd March was a document prepared by D'Oyly and expressed the principles on which the future government was to be based. It consisted of 12 clauses: 1. & 2. Sri Wickrama Rājasinha has forfeited all claim to the throne and is declared fallen and deposed; and the claims of his dynasty abolished and extinguished: 3. All male relatives of the king are banished from the island: 4. The dominion is vested in the sovereign of the British Empire, to be exercised through his governors, saving to the adigārs, disāwas, mohoṭṭalas, kōralēs, vidanes, and other chiefs and subordinate headmen, the rights, privileges, and powers of their respective officers: 5. The religion of the Buddha is declared inviolable; its rites, ministers, and places of worship to be maintained and protected: 6. All torture and mutilations abolished: 7. 'The governor alone can sentence to death, and all capital trials to take place in the presence of the accredited agents of the government: 8. All civil and 'criminal justice over Kandians to be administered according to 'established forms and through the ordinary authorities, the

**133. THE
CONVENTION**

government reserving to itself the inherent rights to interposition when necessary: 9. Over non-Kandyans according to British laws: 10. The proclamation annexing the Three and Four Kōralēs and Sabaragamuwa is repealed: 11. The dues and revenues to



Mohottala

be collected for His Majesty and the support of the establishment: 12. The governor will facilitate trade.

This Act of Settlement read at the Convention of 2nd March was forthwith proclaimed with an eye to the public outside Kandy.

134. THE

PROCLAMATION

The British government had to justify to the world the very strange act of seizing a neighbouring kingdom. For this justification it was necessary to show that the British were only acting on the pressing and

unanimous desire of the people and that the king had forfeited every right to rule. Accordingly the king's enormities were recounted with emphasis and the unanimous invitation of the people and chiefs was expressed in exaggerated language, reminding one of the letters in which Napoleon Bonaparte announced to King George his assumption of the throne of France.

"Led by the invitation of the chiefs, and welcomed by the acclamations of the people, the forces of His Britannic Majesty have entered the Kandyan territory and penetrated to the capital. Divine Providence has blessed their efforts with uniform and complete success. The ruler of the interior provinces has fallen into their hands, and the government remains at the disposal of His Majesty's representative."

On these terms, therefore, on 2nd March, 1815, the sovereign rights of the last politically independent remnant of the
135. THE END OF THE KANDYAN KINGDOM Sinhalese people were irrevocably surrendered to the English crown by the adigārs, disāwas, and other chiefs claiming to act on behalf of the inhabitants. But it soon became clear that this settlement did not actually satisfy any of the parties concerned in the transaction. The English found that the powers and privileges of the chiefs, which had proved too much even for a despotic king, could not well be preserved without detriment to British sovereignty. For they had not only undertaken to uphold the ancient laws and customs but to do so "according to the established forms and by the ordinary authorities." These authorities were unpaid chiefs who received fees from parties for hearing cases and decided the issues

according to caste and considerations of person. The British idea of impartial justice appeared impious to the people. The chiefs, moreover, exercised an authority and exacted services inconsistent with the rights of British subjects.

The chiefs also soon realized their mistake. To imagine that they could transfer the sovereignty to the British without detriment to their rights and dignities was very thoughtless of them. They were indeed less controlled now than under the king, but formerly no one was above them save the king; now every Englishman was superior to them. They were officially treated with respect, but a common soldier passed a proud Kandyan chief with as little attention as he would a fellow of the lowest caste. Thus the chiefs were shorn of their splendour. Personal consideration was the chief purpose of life, and political power the sole object of the ambition of a chief. He could not achieve elevation either by superiority of knowledge or wealth, and he could only retain his elevation in society by privileges of rank and the assumption of superiority over the humble people. This artificial superiority could not be maintained unless the English were also submitted to the power of the chiefs.

The party most dissatisfied were the Kandyan people. Those of the Three, Four and Seven Kōralēs and Sabaragamuwa did not desire the continuance of the powers of the chiefs, but they were not consulted: those of the other provinces had no quarrel with the king and did not wish for the English, nor were they consulted. The latter were therefore dissatisfied with the deposition of their

**136. DISSATIS-
FACTION**

137. OF PEOPLE

sovereign; the former with the retention of the chiefs. Thus the convention was a disappointment to all concerned. The English found they had given the chiefs too much; the chiefs repented of having accepted so little. The lowlanders did not get the relief they sought: the highlanders did not care for the relief thrust upon them.

But the person to whom the convention was most unsatisfactory and disappointing was Eḥelēpola.

**138. OF EHELE-
POLA**

He had hoped for the regal honour, though he did not stipulate for it as Pilima Talauwe did. The first adigārship could not be taken away from Molligoda. Eḥelēpola therefore refused all office but asked for a distinction which no other Sinhalese could use and which would make him superior to all Kandyans. But nothing could be devised for him and he remained a dissatisfied man.

Srī Wickrama Rājasinha was meanwhile removed to Colombo and thence to Vellore with his mother,

**139. FATE OF
KING**

four wives, mother-in-law, and retinue, and all the Nayakkār relatives of the King were sent to India and forbidden to return to the island. They, as well as the widows of Rājādi, and of Muttusāmy, were also sent to India as state prisoners. The ex-king died in 1832 and his only son, born to him in exile, died in 1843, and the line became extinct. But a large number of Kandyan prisoners who are only sons by adoption of descendants of the relatives of the ex-kings and ex-queens, still continue to draw pensions from the Ceylon Government.

The news of the annexation of Kandy reached London on the same day as the news of the battle of Waterloo, and as a consequence

**140. FIRST
MODIFICATION**

passed unnoticed. But the law officers of the crown did not approve the adoption of the pre-existing laws of

Kandy as forms of the king's judicature. Brownrigg accordingly modified the provisional clause and announced that the ancient laws of Kandy would be administered even to non-Kandyans, as the supreme court then existng had no jurisdiction in the Kandyan Provinces.

The ancient throne used by the kings of Kandy was a very elaborately wrought arm-chair, which was preserved in Windsor Castle and has now been returned to this island. It is five feet high, three feet broad and two feet deep, made of wood, but covered with thin gold sheeting, studded

**141. THE KANDYAN
THRONE**



Kandyan Throne

with gems. The two arms of the chair end in two golden lions with eyes of amethyst. A sunflower

adorns the back of the chair with a large amethyst at the centre. The seat is lined with red velvet, and the footstool, ten inches high, one foot broad, and two and a half feet long is of crimson silk wrought in gold. It is a picturesque chair of exquisite workmanship. It is held by some to be of European design and workmanship, possibly done by Portuguese prisoners. Heydt who saw the throne in 1737 says it was a gift of the Dutch: others maintain it to be of Kandyan workmanship. It was sent to England by Brownrigg.

The story of the rebellion and fall of Ehelepola is told in the authentic correspondence between him and D'Oyly and between D'Oyly and Brownrigg, published by me in the C. Lit. Reg. iii series, Vol. IV under the title of **Fall of Ehelepola Maha Nilame**: his own version of events, written in 1829, is found in **Ehelepola's Representations to His Majesty's Commissioners of Enquiry**, Cey. Lit. Reg. II (1932). **The Deportation of Sri Wickrema Rajasinha** is told by William Grenville in C. Lit. Reg. iii (1933-4). The Proceedings of H. M. Council (MSS. in the Government Archives) records the governor's consultations with his Council. The **Diary of D'Oyly** narrates the progress of the Expedition. Major John Davy, M.D., F.R.S. of the Medical Staff wrote **An Account of the Interior of Ceylon** (London, 1821): Henry Marshall, who accompanied the British forces to Kandy and obtained much information from Simon Sawers, Commissioner of Revenue for the Kandyan Provinces, wrote **Ceylon, A General Description of the Island and its Inhabitants with a Historical Sketch of the Conquest of the Colony by the English** (London, 1846): and Capt. de Bussche of the Malay Regiment, who commanded one of the detachments, wrote "**Letters on Ceylon**," 1826: William Tolfrey, who succeeded D'Oyly as Chief translator to Govt. wrote "**A Narrative of Events Which Have Recently Occurred in the Island of Ceylon, Written by a Gentleman on the Spot**", London 1815.

CHAPTER VIII

THE KANDYAN PROVINCES

I. The Administration 1815-1818: 142. Officials, 143. Difficulties, 144. Effects of Change, 145. Muslims, **II. The First Rebellion:** 146. Rebellion 1817-1818, 147. Keppetipola, 148. Guerilla Warfare, 149. Martial Law, 150. Captures, 151. Fate of Ehelepola, 152. Character of Rebellion, 153. The Dalada, 154. Effects of Rebellion, **III. Reform of Administration:** 155. The Reform, 156. Board, 157. Chiefs, 158. Democracy.

I

THE ADMINISTRATION, 1815—1818

The new acquisitions were placed under a board, consisting of a British resident, (John D'Oyly), a judicial commissioner, a revenue commissioner, (Simon Sawers), and the officer commanding the troops, (Col. Kelly), with a secretary for the Kandyan Provinces, (James Sutherland). The administration of justice was entrusted to a Great Court consisting of the board, the adigārs, and the principal chiefs. Subordinate agents of revenue were appointed for Uva, Sabaragamuwa, Three and Four Kōralēs. All civil authority was exercised as before by the first adigār, Molligoda, who was disāwa of the Seven Kōralēs, the second adigār, Kapuwatte, who was disāwa of Sabaragamuwa, the disāwas of the Four Kōralēs (Pilima Talauwe), of Uva (Keppetipola or Monaravila), Matale (Ratwatta), Three Kōralēs (Molligoda), Nuwarakalaviya (Galgoda), Walapane (Dullewe), Tamankaduwa (Galagama), and the

Ratemahatmayas of Udunuwara (Mampitiya), Yatinuwara (Pilima Talauwe), Ulapana (Kobbekaduwa), Wellassa and Bintenna (Millewa).

Though the Maritime and the Kandyan Provinces were now under one sovereignty, yet the two parts did not form one homogeneous whole and remained distinct in all the branches of the administration of revenue and justice. The retention of this distinction was very necessary to the Kandyan chiefs, for any attempt in any manner to do away with any part of the separation meant a loss of their power or influence or emoluments. On the other hand the government could not well retain all distinctions between the two portions of the island. Thus, many of the measures adopted by the government in good faith and of necessity, were of a kind which gave the chiefs reason to suspect the sincerity of the English when they undertook to preserve their ranks and dignities.

For instance there could not well be frontiers or *kadawat* with custom duties between the Maritime and the Kandyan Provinces, and a government advertisement was issued removing all duties and imposts, whether in money or in kind heretofore levied upon merchandise at the *kadawat*. By this the Disāwas of the Seven, Four, and Three Kōralēs, of Uva, Sabaragamuwa, and Nuwarakalāviya, lost the revenues, and perquisites of fourteen *kadawat*. When free trade was introduced and all restrictions on the sale and exportation of arecanuts, wax, pepper, cardamons and coffee were removed, the disāwas lost another valuable source of income. The

143. DIFFICULTIES

144. EFFECTS OF CHANGE

Maduge people were formerly bound to trade in arecanut for the benefit of the king and the disāwa, and the governor now directed that they should perform instead such services as would be just and reasonable: which meant that the Maduge people were now dependent on the British officers rather than on the chiefs. Government next ordered that all fire-arms, pikes, swords, and other warlike stores, should be returned to the kacheheri of Kandy or to the accredited agents of government, thus depriving the disāwas of the influence and dignity of being the disposers of arms. All permits, passports, and licences were issued from "the Kandy Office." Hitherto no man was allowed to be carried in a palanquin within the limits of the city save only the king. When the disāwas saw low-country headmen in palanquins, they complained to D'Oyly that such things were never permitted. This could not well be enforced as in that case the disāwas should themselves be forbidden according to the same laws.

The Muslims, who had been of great assistance to the British, especially to the military commissariat, sought to have a headman of their own at Wellassa and obtained their request through the good offices of the military. But this meant a great loss of power, prestige, and revenue to the disāwa, for the Muslims were the chief traders in salt from whom the chiefs obtained many taxes, fines and presents. On the appointment of Hadjee Marikkar as headman, the Muslims of Wellassa repudiated the authority of the disāwa and withheld the customary dues to the great indignation of the chiefs.

145. MUSLIMS

Thus practically every move was a source of irritation or loss or curtailment of the privileges of the chiefs. And considering that the English and the chiefs had no common bond of sympathy, neither language, nor religion, nor education, nor dress, nor manners, nor outlook on life, the distrust which the chiefs felt can easily be understood.

II

THE FIRST REBELLION

It was under these circumstances and without any prearranged plan or definite aim or understanding between chiefs, that the first and the greatest and perhaps the only rebellion of any consequence took place in 1817-1818. In October, 1817, Sylvester Douglas Wilson, assistant resident at Badulla received information that a stranger, said to be a member of the exiled royal family, had come with a retinue of priests to Wellassa. Wilson unsuspectingly despatched the Muslim headman to investigate, but he was captured by a band armed with bows and arrows. Thereupon Wilson himself set out with a small force; but realizing that his little detachment could effect nothing, Wilson was returning to Badulla, when he was shot down and his interpreter captured. The troops were not able even to recover the body of Wilson. A corporal and two privates carrying a despatch from Fort Macdowall were also killed.

On hearing of this disturbance, D'Oyly despatched Simon Sawers to Badulla and asked Ehelēpola to find out the dispositions of the people. If the Resident had asked Molligoda, who was first adigār and the foremost man of the

146. **REBELLION**
1817-1818

147. **KEPPITIPOLA**

realm, the rebellion might have ended. But Eḥelēpola seized the opportunity to show his importance. On the way, he met Ratwatte, disāwa of Mātale, who was an uncle of Molligoda and an opponent of Eḥelēpola. The latter, claiming to be dissatisfied with the amount of honour paid to him, publicly disgraced Ratwatte and deprived him of his insignia and proceeded with great pomp of elephants and a large following to Nālanda to meet the governor and Lady Brownrigg who were returning from Trincomalie. The governor had information of the insurrection and had suspicions of Eḥelēpola, and there was some fear that the powerful chief had come to waylay the party. But Eḥelēpola meant no harm to the governor, but only sought to impress him with his importance. Eḥelēpola recommended that his adversary Millewa, who was a friend of Molligoda, should be deposed from the disāwaship of Wellassa, and that his own brother-in-law, Keppitipola, disāwa of Uva, be sent to Wellassa to restore order. This was done, but Keppitipola's followers returned with the story that he also was taken by the rebels. Whether captured or not, he soon became the head of the insurrection which spread over Wellassa, Bintenne, Ulapana, Hewahete, Kotmalē, and Dumbara.

The floods of the Kelani prevented the despatch of troops from Colombo; all communications were cut off; small parties of troops were attacked and shot by unseen hands; all the inhabitants fled to the jungles; the narrow jungle paths prevented military operations; and the troops, in their impotence against the guerilla warfare, burnt down

**148. GUERRILLA
WARFARE**

houses and stores and whole villages and cut down fruit trees and committed other depredations which terrified the people, and incensed them the more. More troops were sent into the rebellious districts and 13 military posts were set up, but neither the pretender nor Keppitipola could be caught, and the insurrection spread all over the kingdom. Ehelēpola was removed to Colombo under guard; almost all the chiefs were either in open rebellion or in secret league with the rebels. Molligoda was the only chief of consequence who remained faithful, and his fidelity was attributed to his hostility to Ehelēpola.

The governor placed the whole of the Kandyan Provinces under martial law and summoned the few chiefs who had not yet joined
149. MARTIAL LAW the insurrection and asked them to use their influence to avert bloodshed, as he had troops enough to put down the rebellion. His appeal had very little effect. Arms were distributed every night to the sick in hospital for fear of a repetition of 1803. Lady Brownrigg was sent to Colombo with the greater part of the garrison and preparations were made to evacuate Kandy, if matters came to the worst.

Fortunately three circumstances helped the English to become masters of the situation. Molligoda's influence kept the Three and Four Kōralēs loyal. Reinforcements soon came from Madras and Bengal. And Madugalla who had joined the rebels fell out with Keppitipola, and the pretender, and set up another.

Thus, the crops being destroyed, the people living in the woods were faced with sickness and famine. The leaders fell one after another into the hands of the troops, Elepola Nilame was court-martialled and beheaded, Keppitipola, Pilima Talauwe and Madugalla were taken, and with the trial and condemnation of the chiefs, the rebellion came to an end. Keppitipola, who was practically the leader of the insurrection, was a man of great courage, address, and nobility of mind and presence, and his cranium was sent to the Phrenological Society of Edinburgh. Pilima Talauwe and many other chiefs were sent to Mauritius.

The fate of Ehelēpola was a very bitter one. His disappointment at not receiving the royal dignity was patent to all. He had secreted the royal insignia, but was made to give them up. He assumed a state for which he had no right and desired to be called the "second King," for both of which he was taken to task. But as he was the man through whom the British acquired Kandy, Brownrigg was very patient and ready to give him anything in reason, money, estates, distinction; but nothing short of royal honour would satisfy him, and his loyalty became suspect. After the outbreak of the rebellion he was brought to Colombo and placed under surveillance. He was subsequently suspected of trying to corrupt the guards and Brownrigg's successor sent him to Mauritius where he was treated with great consideration and died in 1829.

150. CAPTURES

151. FATE OF EHELEPOLA

Two facts stand out in the history of this rebellion. First it was doubtless a formidable rising, considering the circumstances which threatened to undo the convention. Secondly, it was suppressed so ruthlessly that English writers blush to relate it. It lasted over a year, and almost every chief of name was implicated and in consequence beheaded or banished. The number of British troops that fell in the field or in hospital is calculated at a thousand. Of the Kandyan nearly ten thousand lost their lives, being killed, executed or dead of famine.

**152. CHARACTER
OF REBELLION**

It must be noted also that the rebellion was not a prearranged one, nor due to oppression or misrule. It was not made to set up the pretender, but merely to attempt to be rid of the English. It was the natural outcome of the situation when a venerable system of government was replaced by another, suddenly and without adequate preparation. The irregularities committed by the British soldiery were contrary to orders and were not countenanced by any officer of rank. But the situation to which the English were reduced and the exertions required to reassert their power, were such that English writers speak of it as the "real conquest of Kandy."

The *daladā* which had been secretly removed from the *Māligāwa* during the insurrection was in the hands of two priests who were found with Madugalla. Col. Kelly had it placed in a temple with the caskets, whence it was brought back to Kandy with great pomp and ceremony and guarded by British troops. A British soldier stood sentry

153. THE DALADA

and the superintendence of the ceremonial connected with the *daladā* festivals officially devolved on the agent of the government who was the custodian of the key of the *karanduwa* and of the room in which the relic is deposited.

This rebellion had a most far reaching effect in the history not only of the Kandyan Provinces but of the whole island. It was

**154. EFFECTS OF
THE REBELLION**

looked upon as a rebellion of the chiefs "of the very persons who had been restored to honours and security by the sole intervention of the British power." "It was an attempt to subvert the government, for no other purpose than to resume to themselves absolute power over the lives and properties of the general mass of subjects which by the equal justice of British authority were protected from their avarice or malicious cruelty." The governor, therefore, considered it necessary to reform the administration of the country by withdrawing from the chiefs the powers secured to them by the convention.

III

THE REFORM OF ADMINISTRATION

The general principle of the reforms was "that every Kandyan, be he of the highest or lowest class, is secured in his Life,

155. THE REFORM

Liberty and Property from encroachment of any kind or by any person, and is only subject to the laws which will be administered according to the ancient and established usages of the country and in such manner and by such authorities and persons as in the name and on behalf of His Majesty is hereinafter described." In other words the ancient and established

usages were henceforth to be administered, not by the disāwas but by British officials.

The Kandyan Provinces were placed under the immediate administration of the governor but without the assistance of the council, which was only for the Maritime Provinces. The governor was

166. BOARD

assisted by a board of commissioners, consisting of the commandant of the troops in Kandy and two civil servants having charge of the judicial and revenue departments. The Kandyan territory was divided into eleven districts, of which five (*the Kande-Uda-Pas-Rata*) were placed under the immediate superintendence of the board of commissioners to whom the government agents, resident in the districts, directly refer. The other six were placed under government agents who exercised authority as the agents in the Maritime Provinces did, in both civil and judicial matters. In the Seven Kōralēs alone there was a separate agent for judicial affairs. All these agents were military officers in (1) Uva and Bintenna, (2) Three Kōoralēs, (3) Four Kōoralēs, (4) Matale, (5) Harasiyapattuwa, (6) Hewaheta, (7) Lower Uva and Wellassa. In the Seven Kōralēs, Sabaragamuwa, and Tamankaduwa, the agents were civil servants.

The disāwas were reduced to the subordinate position of paid servants of the government to perform duty under the orders of

167. THE CHIEFS

the board and its agents. All dues payable to chiefs on appointment, and for the hearing of cases were abolished; all taxes and all personal services were merged into one fixed rent of one tenth of the annual produce,

as in the Maritime Provinces. But as the main grievance of the chiefs was the disregard of their customary honours, the proclamation proceeded to regulate the honours that should be paid to the chiefs by others, and by the chiefs to the British officials.

This reform of the administration tolled the knell of the headman-system of Kandy. Just as the convention marked the fall of
 158. **DEMOCRACY** the Nayakkār dynasty and the rise of the Kandyan oligarchy, so this change marked the fall of the oligarchy and the rise of the Kandyan people. The people were now free from the tyranny of the chiefs and became heirs to the liberties of British citizenship. The people of course did not seek or appreciate it at the time. Brought up in the old traditions, they looked upon all innovations as impious. In their eyes the great merit of any authority was that it was ancient and established; their idea of duty was duty to the state. On the other hand the English did not reform the administration for the benefit of the people but only to be rid of the chiefs. The result of the proclamation was first, that government agents became the real adigārs and disāwas. The name was still retained by the chiefs as titles of honour, but the power passed to the civil servants as in the low-countries; and secondly the Kandyan Provinces were soon assimilated to the Maritime Provinces. Both these results were, at first very bitter to the chiefs who saw themselves reduced to the same level as those who had long lost their independence. But it made for the economic and social advance of the island, and the rise of a distinctive Ceylonese mentality.

The outbreak and progress of the Rebellion are narrated in the Ceylon Government Gazette of the time. The Ceylon Lit. Reg. 1st Series, Vol. II and III reprinted all the references in the Gazette and afterwards printed them in book form under the title of **The Uva Rebellion**. The Proceedings of H. M.'s Council and the Despatches of Brownrigg are the chief sources of information on Kandyan Affairs. **The Diary of Colour-Serjeant George Calladine** (19th Foot) narrates the experiences of a soldier engaged in the suppression of the rebellion. **The Golden Age of Military Adventure**—R. L. Brohier—Colombo 1933, gives an account of the Uva Rebellion 1817-1818. The proclamation of 1818 is given by most writers on Ceylon, Davy, Marshall, Pridham. A Minute of the Governor (25 Sept., 1818) on the subject of the Proclamation is found printed in C Lit. Reg. III, 1933-4.

CHAPTER IX

DEVELOPMENT 1818—1831

1. **Communications:** 159. Sir Edward Barnes, 160. Roads, 161. Roads in the Kandyan Provinces, 162. In the Maritime Provinces, 163. Improvements 1818-1831, 164. Colombo-Kandy Roads, 165. Other Roads, 166. Main Roads, 167. Postal Department, II. **Agriculture:** 168. Agricultural Development, 169. Coffee, 170. Planters, 171. Taxes Removed. III. **Education:** 172. Govt. Schools, 173. Christians, 174. Defects, 175. Protestant Missions, 176. Other Religious Schools, 177. Medical Service. IV. **Administration:** 178. Military, 179. Population, 180. Currency, 181. Slavery, 182. In Jaffna, 183. In Kandy, 184. Emancipation. V. **Revenue and Expenditure:** 185. Revenues, 186. Royal Commission, 187. Recommendations of Commission, 188. Reforms.

I

COMMUNICATIONS

The last two years of Brownrigg's administration were chiefly devoted to the task of restoring order and systematizing the administration. The Kandyan had been reduced to extreme misery by the rebellion and the methods adopted for its suppression. After the proclamation of 1818 the country resumed its normal life, and Brownrigg planned the opening up of communications between the Maritime and Kandyan Provinces. But before his plans could be carried out, he left the island and was succeeded in 1820^{*} by Edward Barnes, the commander of the forces and lieutenant-governor. Barnes, who had been an adjutant of Wellington at Waterloo, threw himself heart and soul into his characteristic work of road making, but being

**159. SIR EDWARD
BARNES**

appointed commander-in-chief of India, he gave up office, and Edward Paget became lieutenant-governor. Within ten months Barnes fell out with the civil authorities in India and returned to England, and Edward Paget went as commander-in-chief of India, leaving the government of Ceylon to Sir James Campbell, lieutenant-governor. In 1824 Sir Edward Barnes returned to the island as governor, and resumed his active and useful work of opening up communications and developing the agricultural possibilities of the island, being himself the first coffee planter in Ceylon. He administered the island till 1831.

Barnes is reported to have declared that what Ceylon needed most was, "first, roads, second, roads, and third, roads," and indeed his

160. ROADS

name and that of Major Skinner, whom Barnes picked out, are associated with the great work of road making in Ceylon. During the ten years he directed the administration of Ceylon as lieutenant-governor (1820-1822) and as governor (1824-1831), he succeeded in opening up the country by a network of roads which, though hastily traced and expeditiously laid out, are those which are still in use.

Roads were indeed badly needed in the Kandyan Provinces, and the chief difficulty and delay in

161. ROADS IN THE KANDYAN PROVINCES

suppressing the rebellion was due to the absence of roads. The Kings of Kandy had deliberately made their realm inaccessible to foreigners by letting the frontiers remain in a state of wild jungle, for Jungle and Fever were the ruin of every invading

army. The existing roads or paths were just enough for one man to pass. Men usually travelled on foot or on elephant back, and no one save the disāwas was allowed to ride in palanquins and even that only outside the royal city. Areca and other produce were transported by tavalam cattle of the Maduge people and the Muslims, and most of the paths leading to Kandy were narrow, rugged, and steep, impassable for any vehicle. An invading army had therefore to take its supplies and baggage on the back of coolies. In 1817 just before the rebellion, when Brownrigg went to Kandy by the usual *māwata* of 85 miles, the first stage from Colombo to Avisawella was a Dutch road, from Sītāwaka the road lay via Ruanwella, Iddamalpana, Arrandara, Hettimulla, and the Balana *Kadawata*. The governor and Lady Brownrigg were carried in 'tom johns' while the rest of the party alternately rode on horseback or were carried in travelling chairs. Six elephants and an army of coolies carried the baggage.

In the Maritime Provinces things were only just a little better. There were no roads to speak of.

Colombo indeed was connected with the coast towns by Dutch roads, broad and sheltered by trees, but sandy and in bad repair. Governor North setting out in 1800 on a tour round the island with the chief justice had to travel in palanquins, the procession consisting of 160 bearers, 400 luggage coolies, two elephants, six horses and fifty lascarins carrying the materials for tents. By 1814 the roads had been improved, and resthouses or ambalams had been established at suitable distances for the

**162. ROADS IN THE
MARITIME
PROVINCES**

convenience of officials. Brownrigg was thus able to make the same circuit as North in a one-horse carriage.

Brownrigg planned to connect Kandy with Colombo by a military road through the Kadugannawa Pass. The proclamation of 1818, while relieving all service-land holders from *rājakāriya*, reserved to the government the right to call for the gratuitous service of people for public works. In the low-country too *rājakāriya* was enforced in 1818. With the aid of the unrecompensed compulsory services thus obtained and exacted both in the highlands and in the low-country, with a rigour that no despotic monarch had ever demanded, Barnes was able to carry out his plan of connecting Colombo with every town in the island and linking Kandy with every coast town, without any call on the revenue of the island, except to maintain the corps of pioneers, as the military engineers and the native troops employed in the work were already maintained on the military establishment of the island. Within two years he connected Colombo with Kandy by two roads, and though these were intended to relieve the government from the trouble and expense of keeping large numbers of troops in the fever stricken military posts of the interior, the facility of communications soon led to the planting industry which was destined to fill the coffers of the government, to spread wealth among the people, and to make this island the haunt of capitalists and speculators with all the attendant evils and benefits to the permanent population.

163. IMPROVE-
MENTS 1818-1831

The road from Colombo to Kandy through the Four Kōralēs via Ambepussa was traced by Fraser and supervised by Skinner, who afterwards became Ceylon's first commissioner of roads. It was begun in 1820 and opened to traffic in 1821 before it was gravelled or metalled. The laying out of the

**164. COLOMBO-
KANDY ROADS**

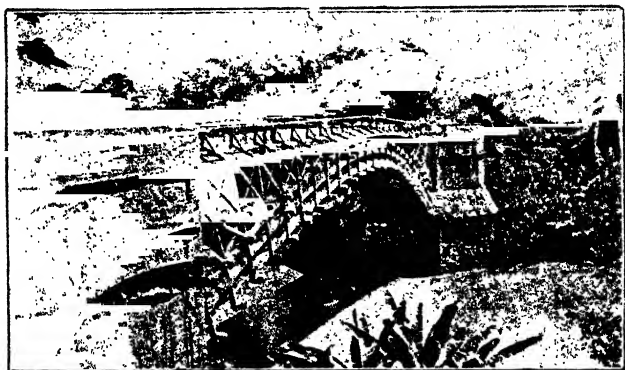


Bridge of Boats, Colombo

road through the Kadugannawa Pass was effected by Captain William Francis Dawson, who is commemorated by a column 122 feet high dominating the highest point of the road at Kadugannawa. The Kelany river was spanned by a bridge of boats at Colombo, the Maha-Oya by an elegant bridge at Māwahella, and the Mahaveliganga by a satinwood bridge of one arch, 205 feet long, designed by Fraser, without a bolt or a nail.* A model of this picturesque bridge is still shown in the South Kensington Museum.

By 1833 the number of coffee estates in Kandy and the consequent increase of business and traffic

and passengers on this road was so great that a royal mail coach, the first of the kind in Asia, began to run between Colombo and Kandy.



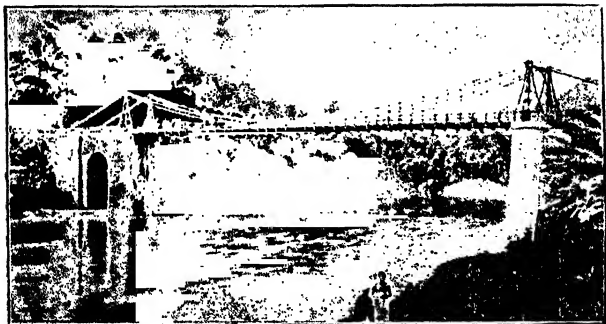
Satinwood Bridge, Peradeniya

A second Colombo-Kandy road was opened through the Seven Kōralēs via Kurunegala, passing through a mountain by a tunnel 500 feet long. It would appear that the Kandyans used to say that no foreign nation would succeed in keeping Sinhālē unless they held the *daladā*, bridged the Mahaveliganga and bored a road through a hill. The *daladā* was now in British custody, the river was bridged, and Barnes thought it politic to display to the astonished eyes of the Kandyans the achievement of the third Herculean labour.

Kandy was thus connected not only with Colombo, but with every chief town. Roads radiated in all directions; to Dambulla via Nālanda, with extensions from Nālanda to Anuradhapura (26 miles) and Dambulla to Minnēriya (31 miles); to Batticaloa via Bintenne (126 miles); to Badulla

**165. OTHER
ROADS**

via Teldeniya (58) via Wallapana (57) via Fort Macdonald (60); to Nuwara Eliya via Ramboda Pass (50); to Colombo via Ruanwella (88); to Negombo via Kurunegala and Wisinawē (52) or Giriulla (47); to Chilaw via Kurunegala (46) and to Puttalam via Kurunegala (59); to Trincomalie via Fort Macdowall (130).



Suspension Bridge, Gampola

A road ran along the whole circumference of the island, making a circuit of 763 miles and connecting all the coast towns

166. MAIN ROADS

with each other and with the capital. From Colombo the road ran northward through Negombo, Chilaw, Puttalam, Aripo, Palai, to Jaffna (222 miles) and continued southward along the east coast through Elephant Pass, Trincomalie, Batticaloa, Komari, Hambantota, Mātara, Galle, and Kalutara a distance of 541 miles. There were branch roads from Jaffna to Point Pedro, Trincomalie to Kokelly (113); from the Doric at Aripo to Anuradhapura (194); Colombo to Trincomalie via Kurunegala (166).

The new roads enabled the government to organize a more expeditious post throughout the island. A tappal service, as the post was called, had been in existence from the very beginning of the British period. The Dutch had set on foot an inexpensive but regular system by granting lands to certain castes and exempting them from taxes in return for carrying packets without pay. The British availed themselves of this system till 1802, when a regular postal department was established under Anthony Bertolacci as postmaster-general. Letters were conveyed with celerity and regularity once a day by a staff of paid runners, but the cost was so far above the revenue derived from postage that the home government sent orders to discontinue the daily post, and institute a three days post. The local government, however, reverted to the older policy of using gratuitous service of men exempt from taxes, and placed the postal department under a Dutchman. The principal service was between the headquarters of the Government at Colombo and the headquarters of the naval and military forces at Trincomalie. These two stations were served by a double route, one, the northern route, along the west coast via Jaffna and Mullaitivu, serving twelve intermediate stations, and the other, the southern route, via Hambantota and Batticaloa, also serving twelve intermediate towns. The postage was charged according to distance. From Colombo to Batticaloa the charge was 7 fanams, Colombo to Trincomalie 8; generally two pies were charged between post offices, and one pie when they were near each other as Beruwala and Bentota.

**167. POSTAL
DEPARTMENT**

In the Kandyan Provinces also there was a system of unpaid public messengers to convey mails in return for holdings in land. This system was organized by the British after the annexation of Kandy, and a regular post was established between military encampments and Kandy. As soon as the new roads were opened, a regular postal service with the Kandyan Provinces was begun, and the mails were conveyed by runners between all stations served by the new roads.

II

AGRICULTURE

The opening up of the country led to the planting industry which has played so large a part in the material progress of the island.

168. AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS At first indigo was tried at Veyangoda and a factory was set up at Tangalla. Sugar plantations were begun in Dumbara, Kalutara and Baddēgama, but soon every other industry gave place to King Coffee.

Coffee was known in Ceylon before the European period, but the preparation of the well-known beverage appears to have been locally unknown. The Dutch began to cultivate coffee, but abandoned it in 1739, and the inhabitants continued to grow coffee which thrived especially in the Kandyan Provinces. Accordingly as soon as the new roads facilitated communications between the highlands and the sea ports, European capitalists began to cultivate coffee in the Kandyan country. In the beginning, as we have seen, (102) no European was allowed to buy land in the island. But in 1810 this regulation was repealed at the instance of Sir

Alexander Johnston, and the door was opened to British colonists. According to a government advertisement of 1812, Europeans were allowed to receive grants of land not exceeding 4,000 acres and free from tax for five years, though by a regulation of May 1800 not more than 100 acres could be granted to an inhabitant of the country.

The pioneers of the planting enterprise were the local military and civil servants. The first systematic

coffee planter was Captain Henry Bird of the Ceylon Rifles, afterwards lieutenant-colonel, who planted some acres of coffee at Pussellawa and realized a clear profit of £600. Others took up the enterprise and as land was sold at five shillings an acre, which was only the surveying fee, the crown forest land was speedily bought up by prospective planters or speculators. Sir Edward Barnes himself set the example in 1825 by opening up Gangaruwa Estate, now part of the botanical gardens of Peradeniya, 'which was cultivated, cleared, and planted by his son. Others followed suit, and thousands of acres were cleared in Dumbara, Ambegamuwa, Kotmale, and Pussellawa.

The time was quite opportune for coffee planting, for not only had the use of that Persian beverage greatly increased in Europe, but

171. **TAXES REMOVED** the supply from West India was temporarily reduced owing to labour troubles. To encourage capital and planting, the governor removed all taxes and custom duties from coffee, cotton, sugar, and indigo for twelve years and exempted estate labourers from rājakāriya. This latter step was opposed by the board of commissioners and was therefore not promulgated in the

Kandyan Provinces. The Kandyans had their own lands to sow and would not work as estate labourers except spasmodically. But the South Indians, compelled to eke out a miserable existence in the arid sands, were willing to come, and endured the climate without inconvenience. Accordingly large numbers of immigrant labourers came from India to work in the new estates.

III

EDUCATION

During the early years of the British occupation the Madras government was so concerned with recovering the cost of the seizure of the Dutch settlements that it completely ignored the duty of education. The Dutch had a system of schools maintained for the purpose of spreading Christianity. The schoolmaster was the village registrar, the schoolroom the local church, where service was held, baptisms conferred and marriages solemnized at the periodical visits of the scholarchal commission. As soon as the crown took over the administration of the settlements, North attempted to revive this system. There were about 163 schools through which it was decided to propagate Protestant Christianity, as the Dutch had done, but without compulsion. An English school or seminary was started at Wolvendaal under Revd. James Cordiner, which was subsequently kept up partly with the fees charged for translating petitions into English. But on the departure of Cordiner, who was superintendent of schools, the English schools disappeared and the home government refused the thousand five hundred pounds necessary to keep up the schools.

172. GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

The discontinuance of these schools meant the dwindling of Protestant Christianity among the people. At the beginning, the number of Dutch Christians was 342,000; in 1804 it fell to 240,000, in 1810 to 140,000, in 1814 to 130,000 and subsequently to 40,000. This indirect result of the disappearance of the schools led to an agitation in England where the Ceylon government was taken to task for "depriving 240,000 eager catechumens of all means of learning the truths of the gospel." "We are to save £1,500 by what is the moral and religious ruin of the island." Maitland accordingly received orders from the secretary of state to revive the schools. Archdeacon Twisleton was appointed president of a committee to superintend the schools of the island, and 47 schools were revived. English schools were opened by private enterprise at Jaffna, Kalpitiya, and Mātara, and some received a government grant. Revd. Bisset, the son-in-law of Brownrigg, soon became head of the government schools, but once the people realized that the English government did not intend to proselytize by compulsion, the number of Christians went on decreasing, most of them relapsing to Buddhism or Hinduism or embracing Catholicism.

In 1829 the government schools were found to be very defective and inefficient. Their number was 90, of which only four were in the Tamil districts, and none at all in the Kandyan Provinces. In several instances these schools were found to exist only in name, the children being assembled occasionally for inspection. In the north the schools

173. CHRISTIANS

174. DEFECTS

were found to be totally inefficient and the government suspended the schools, retaining the schoolmaster as registrar of marriages. But the support of the government and pecuniary assistance were given to the Protestant missions which established schools in the north. It is to the labours of these religious societies both in the Tamil and the Sinhalese districts that the country is indebted for the opportunities of instruction since the decline of the government schools.

The schools of the missionaries were schools set up by the various Protestant missionary societies that sent missionaries to the island.

**175. PROTESTANT
MISSIONS**

In 1805 there came four agents of the London Missionary Society, only one of whom, J. D. Palm, remained in the island as pastor of the Dutch church. In 1812 the Baptist Missionary Society sent James Charter; and a British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in Colombo. In 1814 came three missionaries of the Church Missionary Society who established themselves in various parts of the island and ultimately in Kōtṭe, Baddēgama, Nallūr, and Kandy. The government gave them every facility and assistance, granting lands for churches and schools and even handing over to them the Catholic churches of Jaffna which had been used by the Dutch. In Kandy service was read in the audience hall of the kings of Kandy on special occasions. They were also put in charge of the abandoned government schools and in 1823 they had a school in Kandy and four others in the neighbourhood; in 1826 over two hundred schools. In 1816 an American Board of Foreign Missions sent missionaries to Jaffna where the first girls' schools were set up.

A printing press was started in Jaffna for the publication of religious tracts. In 1817 the Established church in Ceylon was placed under the see of Calcutta and periodical visits were paid by the prelates, Middleton in 1821, Heber in 1825, and Turner in 1831.

Thus in the race for English education, which was fast becoming a necessity, the Catholics, Buddhists, and Hindus lagged far behind the Protestants for lack of government support. In 1801 the Catholics had some schools, in 1831 there were 63, but all vernacular schools. Without assistance from the government, the Catholic priests working in Ceylon who were Konkani Brahmins of India, subjects of Portugal, were unable to set up English schools, and the Catholic community which outnumbered all other denominations of Christians put together, was deprived of the chief means of government employment and influence, especially after 1823, when a regulation was passed that no headman should be appointed who did not read and write English. Similar was the fate of the Buddhist and Hindu communities who had only vernacular schools. There is no means of ascertaining the number of schools conducted by the non-Christians, though it is known that every temple, however small, was a school where children were taught to read and write their mother tongue. Thus the advent of the English set a premium on English education, which was beyond the means of Catholics, Buddhists, and Hindus; and all power and influence passed into the hands of the Protestant Ceylonese, educated in missionary schools.

176. OTHER
RELIGIOUS
SCHOOLS

The medical service was at first a military department. But when small-pox first broke out under the English, North established small-pox hospitals in Colombo, Trincomalie, Jaffna, and Galle for inoculation. By 1802 vaccination was introduced, and as no hospitals were needed, a regular vaccination campaign was started and carried out at a cost of £9,000 per annum, which greatly reduced mortality. From 1802 to 1812 more than 220,000 persons were vaccinated. In 1815 the number of persons vaccinated was 17,214 and in 1816, when vaccination was introduced into the Kandyan Provinces, 19,530. Many Kandyan chiefs and headmen were induced to allow themselves to be vaccinated, and the people as usual followed their leaders.

The leper asylum in Colombo was placed under a Ceylonese doctor, educated at Pisa, named Joseph Sansoni, and a civil branch of the medical department was organized with the chief military doctor as inspector-general of hospitals. A staff surgeon was placed at Kandy, and assistants at Galle, Batticaloa, Jaffna, and Trincomalie, while Tangalle, Mātara, and Hambantota were supplied with apothecaries.

IV

ADMINISTRATION

The headquarters of the naval and military force in Ceylon was Trincomalie, and as it was feared that the French might make an attack on the island as allies of the Dutch, a large force was thought necessary. All the Dutch forts along

177. MEDICAL SERVICE

178. MILITARY

the coast were fortified and garrisoned. After the annexation of Kandy and especially after the rebellion, a number of military posts were set up in the interior and many of the military officers were called upon to serve in a civil capacity as agents of government or judges. The garrisons in the Maritime Provinces were Colombo, Negombo, Puttalam, Kalpitiya, Mannār, Jaffna, Mulaitivu, Trincomalie, Batticaloa, Panegama, Hambantota, Tangalle, Mātara, Galle, and Kalutara. In the Kandyan Province, military posts existed at Madawalatenne, Maturata, Fort Macdowal, Ruanwella, Fort King (Attāpitiya), Kurunegala, Ratnapura, Badulla, Allipot, Fort Macdonald, Nuwara Eliya, and Kotmalē.

No accurate statistics of population are available. An enumeration, as accurate as it was possible, made by the Dutch governor, **179. POPULATION** van der Graff, in 1789 gave the number of inhabitants of both sex and all ages at 817,000. Early in the British period, one writer estimated the total population of the island at one and half million, which seems to be a very high estimate. Another writer, who had been twenty-five years in the island, estimated it at two million, one million in the British settlements and another million in the Kandyan kingdom. But both estimates seem to be exaggerated. Bertolacci, who was successively postmaster-general, controller-general and auditor-general, thought these estimates exaggerated and by a rough calculation and surmise from the quantity of food produced, set down the population of the settlements in 1806 at 700,000. In 1814 the population of the settlements was set down at 475,883. In 1824 it appears from returns that

the population was 256,835 in the Kandyan, 399,408 in the Sinhalese, and 195,697 in the Tamil districts, making a total of 861,940; in 1827 the total population was 885,574, made up of 595,105 in the Maritime and 290,469 in the Kandyan Provinces. In 1831 the total population was 959,967, of which 662,006 were in the Maritime Provinces and 288,486 in the Kandyan and 9,424 aliens and resident strangers.

The British government at first retained the denominations of the Dutch monetary system, namely the rix-dollar divided into 12 *fanams* or 48 stuivers or 192 *challies*. The Madras administration, however, kept its accounts, as in Madras, in star-pagodas, Madras fanams and cash, the star-pagoda being reckoned at 45 Ceylon Dutch fanams, or 180 stuivers or $3\frac{3}{4}$ rix-dollars. The Dutch stuivers or 'doodies' current in the island were accepted by the British as currency and rated as 48 to the rix-dollar, side by side with the English copper coins. Currency notes of 100, 50 and 25 rix-dollars were issued in 1800. In 1801 the first coinage was made of 4, 2, and 1 stuiver; in 1802 1803 and 1804, coins of 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, and $\frac{1}{4}$ stuiver were also issued; in 1803 coins of 1 and $\frac{1}{2}$ rix-dollar were struck.

In 1812 the rix-dollar was rated at 1s. 9d. or $11\frac{3}{4}$ to the pound sterling and a mint was established in the island. In 1815 copper coins of 2, 1, and $\frac{1}{2}$ stuiver were coined. 37,339 rix-dollars worth of Dutch challies were taken as prize in Kandy and were put into circulation: in 1815 the Ceylon fanam was made equal to the Indian anna. In 1823 the Madras rupee and quarter rupee were

made current in Ceylon. But in 1825 sterling currency of pounds, shillings, and pence and half pence and farthings was introduced and the silver rix-dollar was rated at one shilling and six-pence and was called in Sinhalese *patāgaya* or *ridi paha* and in Tamil *iraiyal*; the copper fanam was rated at a penny halfpenny, the challies at a half-penny. All notes expressed in rix-dollars were withdrawn, and all Ceylon copper coinage was demonetised from January, 1831.

The following Sinhalese and Tamil names for coins now obsolete are still applied to the corresponding number of cents: *alukkāla* (T. *araicalli*) Dutch half challee; *thambasalliya* (T. *salli*;) English challee, one fourth stuiver; *tutuwa* (T. *tuddu*) stuiver; *sattaliya* (six tuttu).

The system of slavery existing in Ceylon was radically different from the nefarious system of the West. In this island there were

181. SLAVERY

four classes of slaves; those who sold themselves to servitude for debt and could redeem themselves within a fixed time, those who were sold into slavery by parents, those who were sentenced to slavery by the king, and all children born of a mother bound to slavery. This slavery did not consist in absolute subjection to a master. The Ceylon slave could buy and sell, could own property and bequeath it by will independently of the master, could hire his services to another, could even hold office in the state and himself be the master of other slaves. All that slavery implied was that the slave was bound to perform certain services for the master, these services being rarely domestic service and generally cultivation of land or the performance of menial

offices which, being the badge of slavery, no free men would do for hire. Slaves were therefore valued not so much for their labour but rather as an appendage of rank.

In the Jaffna peninsula and in the Tamil districts generally the slaves were of three castes: Govias, Nalluas and Pallas. The first
182. IN JAFFNA alone were used for domestic service, the Nalluas and Pallas were employed in the cultivation of land. They could themselves hold land of their own and cultivate land for wages, but they were obliged to serve their masters in cultivation. The number of domestic slaves in Jaffna in 1817, was two thousand; Govias, Nalluas, and Pallas twenty thousand, making a total of 22,000.

In the Kandyan country, slaves were personal property of the master and were employed as domestic slaves or as cultivators,
183. IN KANDY but could own proverty and dispose of it, and slaves are known to have been appointed vidhānas and even ratērālas. In 1829 there were 1,067 male and 1,046 female slaves in the Kandyan country. In the Maritime Provinces personal slavery was almost extinct. There were not more than 1,000 slaves, mostly belonging to the Dutch and Mohammedans, whose lot, however, was modified by the statutes of Batavia and the teachings of the Koran.

Regulation 3 of 1806 was enacted by Maitland requiring all slave owners to register their slaves, but the regulation was successfully
184. EMANCIPATION evaded. In 1816 Sir Alexander Johnston persuaded the masters of slaves to emancipate the children born of slaves

from and after 12th August, the birthday of the prince regent The governer formally emancipated such slave children, but it was not fully carried out, and only 96 were thus emancipated. The proclamation was intended to introduce emancipation by degrees, and first abolished joint ownership of slaves and gave all slaves the right to buy their liberty if they chose, at a price to be fixed by assessors. In 1821 it was proposed to buy the liberty of all Govias, Nalluas, and Pallas, born after 14th April. Some 2,211 slaves were thus emancipated. In 1818, 504 slaves bought their liberty, but there still remained in the Tamil districts about 27,395 slaves.

V

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

The annual revenue of Ceylon, as calculated upon the average of three years, 1827, 1828, 1829, did not exceed £332,746. It was
185. REVENUE made up as follows:—

	£.
Land rents or assessments imposed on all lands cultivated in grain ...	20,911
The monopoly of cinnamon ...	138,343
The monopoly of salt ...	27,781
The pearl fisheries ...	14,662
Fish rent ...	7,888
Duties on the distillation and sale of spirits	28,620
Duties on the import and export trade ...	63,667
Port clearances and harbour duties ...	3,155
Tolls levied on the passage over bridges and roads ...	4,210
Stamp duties and court fees ...	12,898
Fines and forfeitures ...	1,383
Capitation tax ...	3,312
Premium upon bills drawn by the government upon its agent in London ...	4,880

Miscellaneous

Gaming houses	...	446	
Honorary ceremonies	...	219	
Auction duty	...	232	
Tribute from Veddass	...	61	
Precious stones	...	78	1,036
			<hr/>
			332,746
			<hr/>

The average expenditure of the same three years was £378,640 and the average deficit £45,894.

In April, 1829, Major W. M. C. Colebrooke arrived in Ceylon being appointed by a commission of George IV. under the great seal to examine into all the laws, regulations, and usages of the settlements in the island and into every other matter in any way connected with the administration of the civil government. He was followed by another royal commissioner, Charles Hay Cameron, likewise commissioned to report upon the judicial establishment and procedure in Ceylon. This commission was due to the financial failure of the Ceylon government, for year after year the revenue failed to come up to the annual expenditure; and to an agitation carried on in England by English colonists. The existing government was described as arbitrary, unjust, and oppressive, the administration of justice defective, trade depressed by government monopolies and the inhabitants reduced to destitution and ground down by compulsory labour. When the commission was published in the island in English, Sinhalese, and Tamil, a number of petitions began to pour in, including one from Ehelēpola. The commissioners drew up an interrogatory of 435

questions, addressed to the chief government officials, travelled about the country, inspecting, interviewing, taking information, and holding conferences with the principal Kandyan and low-country chiefs, priests, and headmen. They even attended a meeting of a gansabhāwa and finally drew up two separate reports, while the agitators in England kept on urging Parliament to appoint a select committee to inquire also into revenue, expenditure, and commerce.

~~The~~ The two reports, presented at the beginning of 1832, made very important and far reaching recommendations, the majority of which were adopted. (1) The first and foremost recommendation was the amalgamation of the Kandy and Maritime Provinces into one government with one uniform administration. The commissioners considered the maintenance of two separate and independent establishments as most impolitic, only conducive to the benefit of a few chiefs, to the detriment of the Kandyan people. (2) They recommended that the island should be divided into five provinces with Colombo, Kandy, Galle, Jaffna, and Trincomalee as capitals.

(3) Another recommendation was the establishment of an Executive and a Legislative council. Hitherto the governor had a council of a few officials to advise him in the administration of the Maritime Provinces, but he was quite uncontrolled in his executive and legislative acts affecting the Kandyan Provinces. The commissioners therefore proposed an executive council to control the acts and proceedings of the governor, and a legislative council to ensure the open discussion of public affairs and to

187. **RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION**

188. **REFORMS**

protect the people from precipitate change in laws affecting their rights and interests. They desired that the governor should take no part in the deliberations of the legislative council.

They then went on to recommend (1) the total abolition of *rājakāriya* or compulsory service, (2) the abolition of monopolies, (3) the abolition of all distinctions between the Ceylonese themselves (caste), (4) the admission of Ceylonese into the civil service, (5) the establishment of the means of education, and (6) the encouragement of a free press.

In judicial affairs, Cameron recommended (1) the complete independence of the judicature from the executive government, (2) the removal of distinctions between the courts of law in the Kandyan and Maritime Provinces, (3) the extension of the jurisdiction of all courts to Europeans and Ceylonese alike without distinction, (4) the establishment of a supreme court of the island of Ceylon with a chief justice and two puisne justices, and (5) district courts to supersede all existing courts.

The report of Lt.-Col. William MacBean George Colebrooke, is printed in **Ramanathans Law Reports 1820-1833**. His **Secret Report on Forced Labour** has been edited by Colvin R. de Silva in C. Lit. Reg. III (1933-4). Major Thomas Skinner's **Fifty Years in Ceylon, An Autobiography** (London 1891) gives a picture of the times. Regarding Education see L. J. Gratiaen **Government Schools in Ceylon**, reprint of articles in the Ceylon Antiquary, 1922 and 1923; **The Ceylon Government's Connection with Education** by D. B. Kuruppu, 1923; and **A Few Words on Catholic Education in Ceylon** by Dr. C. Bonjean.

CHAPTER X

UNIFICATION OF THE ISLAND

1832—1850

I. Reforms: 189. Sir Robert Horton, 190. Rajakariya, 191. Service-Tenure, 192. Effects of Repeal, 193. Abolition of Distinctions, 194. Abolition of Monopolies, 195. Charter of 1833, 196. Constitutional Reforms, 197. The Press, 198. Ceylon Observer, 199. Other Newspapers, 200. Education, 201. Ecclesiastical Organization, 202. Protestant Diocese, 203. Buddhism, 204. Buddhist Temporalities, 205. Literary Activities, 206. Historical Books. **II. Commerce and Agriculture:** 207. Planting Enterprise, 208. Coffee, 209. Commercial Activities, 210. The Coffee Crash, **III. Governors:** 211. Mackenzie, 212. Campbell, 213. Torrington. **IV. Rebellion:** 214. Dissatisfaction, 215. Rebellion of 1848, 216. Past Rebellions 1803-1818, 217. 1818-1835, 218. The State Trial, 219. The So-called Rebellion, 220. Excesses, 221. Public Resentment, 222. A Priest Shot, 223. Agitation, 224. Inquiry, 225. Recall of Torrington.

I

REFORMS

Sir Edward Barnes left the island in 1831, and Major John Wilson, officer commanding the forces, became lieutenant-governor till the arrival of Sir Robert Wilmot Horton (1831-1837), a statesman who had been under-secretary for the colonies. Horton's government had the advantage of a series of prosperous pearl fisheries which brought £227,000 to the exchequer and enabled the government to carry out the recommendations of the commissioners at a time of plenty.

**189. SIR ROBERT
HORTON**

An order in council was issued by the king on 12th April, 1832, declaring "that none of His Majesty's native or Indian subjects in the island of Ceylon shall be or are liable to render any service in respect of the tenure of land or in respect of his caste or otherwise, to which His Majesty's subjects of European birth and descent are not liable, any law or custom or regulation to the contrary notwithstanding." This despatch, proclaimed in Ceylon on 28th September, 1832, put an end to the ancient system of land-tenure that had existed in this island from time immemorial. It had served its time and was now but an anachronism. The political constitution based on it was now extinct, and therefore the British government had either to revive the absolute powers of the Sinhalese kings or do away with the basis of that power.

The service-tenure had been calculated to keep the chiefs and people in subjection to the king, for as long as that system existed, all land was granted subject to service. If ever a chief gave trouble to the king, he was promptly deprived of his lands, which was the source of his power and influence; likewise if ever a subject gave trouble to the chief or king, he was deprived of his means of subsistence. Hence it was that, though there were revolts and risings, there never existed warfare between chief and chief or between chief and king. It was for this reason that Ehēlēpola's rebellion failed and the Kandyan chiefs had to have recourse to the English to depose their king. That system had

190. **RAJAKARIYA**

191. **SERVICE
TENURE**

therefore cost the king his throne and ultimately led to the downfall of the chiefs. The abolition of *rājakāriya* was thus the emancipation of the people.

This abolition, however, was not welcome to all. It was disliked by the chiefs whose influence depended on the existence of service-lands. It was also ruinous to the temples and *dēwālēs* that depended on the service of tenants. Even others who were unaffected by the act disapproved of the abrupt change, while welcoming the principle. The government which had made use of the *rājakāriya* for the construction of roads, was now faced with the task of importing paid labourers for the development and maintenance of means of communication. Hence the abolition was not complete. The rights of royal villages and temple lands in the Kandyan provinces and even rights of private proprietors to the services of tenants, were left untouched, as it was possible for these tenants to give up their holdings, if they objected to the services. The government on the other hand found it necessary in 1848 to introduce an ordinance to compensate for the loss of services, by demanding a fortnight's labour on the roads from all inhabitants of the island, European and Ceylonese, or a commutation in money. This was in force till recently and was known as the commutation or poll-tax.

In May, 1832, the governor repealed the prohibition against Moors and Chetties owning land in Colombo. They had been looked upon as foreigners by the Dutch and subjected to a tax called *ūliyam* and forbidden to hold land in the island.

192. EFFECTS OF REPEAL

193. ABOLITION OF DISTINCTION

In 1747, however, the law was relaxed, and they were allowed to own land in the island except in Colombo. This restriction was enforced by Brownrigg in 1817, but now it was deemed inconsistent, and the regulation was withdrawn, placing all the permanent inhabitants of the island on the same level.

Cinnamon was the chief and typical monopoly, the *maha-badda* as it was called. It was the monopoly of cinnamon that brought the Europeans to these shores, and it remained jealously guarded as long as the governments were foreign and commercial. But the government of the island was now to be a government of the people and of the king in the interests of the people, accordingly the monopoly was removed and a custom duty placed on cinnamon. But this principle was not extended to the other monopolies. The government continued to own the cinnamon gardens till 1846 when they were sold, and the Cinnamon Gardens of Colombo became the residential area of the rich. The other monopolies however remained.

The judicial reforms recommended by Cameron were embodied in a charter dated 18th February, 1833, and promulgated in Ceylon in August of the same year.

195. THE CHARTER OF 1833

The existing judicature in the Maritime Provinces dated from 1811 but had no application to the Kandyan Provinces. There the administration of justice was according to "the established forms and by the ordinary authorities" from 1815 to 1818, and the supreme court was declared to have no jurisdiction in the Kandyan Provinces. From 1818 to 1832, judicial authority

was exercised by the board of commissioners. Now the new charter declared that "the territories in the interior, called the kingdom of Kandy, or the Kandyan Provinces, hath become and now is subject to His Majesty" so that "the whole island with its dependencies has become and now is part of His Majesty's dominions" Accordingly the entire administration of justice in the island was vested in the supreme court of the island of Ceylon, consisting of a chief justice and two puisne justices, and in district courts, having jurisdiction over all inhabitants without distinction. The district court was to supersede all existing courts, such as the provincial courts, and courts of Sitting Magistrates in the Maritime, and the judicial commissioners' courts, and courts of the judicial agents, in the Kandyan country. In 1844, however, police courts were instituted and in 1845 courts of requests, and in 1846 their powers were extended to relieve the district courts. Trial by jury was extended to the whole island.,

A royal commission in March, 1833, set up an Executive and a Legislative Council, giving this island the beginnings of democratic government. The former, consisting of a few of the chief officials, was to assist the governor in all details of revenue and disbursements, and the members were authorised to call for information when required, so that the executive acts of the government might not depend on the governor alone.

The Legislative Council on the other hand was to consist of nine official members and six unofficials chosen from the principal merchants and the chief landed proprietors. All laws were to be discussed in

this council and promulgated in its name also as ordinances of the governor in council. Laws thus passed were to have effect over the whole island. This was a measure far in advance of the constitution of the neighbouring continent or of any colony with an indigenous population.

Though this commission was promulgated in October, 1833, and the first meeting of the legislative council held in May, 1834, the governor delayed to nominate the unofficial members. This gave rise to much agitation and misunderstanding and some vigorous writings in the recently inaugurated local press. But the delay was due to a singular circumstance which was not publicly known. As the proceedings of the council were to be in the English language, the governor was hard put to it to find a Sinhalese or Tamil gentleman, not in government employ, who could express himself in English. He had therefore communicated a proposal to the home government to appoint some persons in government service with right to draw their pay while serving as members of the council. Till this point was settled, he did not want to nominate any unofficials, as the precedence of the unofficials was to be regulated by the priority of nomination; and if English merchants were nominated first and the Ceylonese members afterwards, the latter would have to take their seats behind all the others which would give the appearance of an invidious distinction. When the proposal was approved, the governor nominated the unofficials in the following order; (1) Joseph Read, merchant, (2) Mudaliyar Johannes Godfried Philipsz, Chief Interpreter of the Supreme Court, Sinhalese, (3) Jeffry, merchant, (4) J. G. Hillebrand, proctor supreme court, Burgher, (5) G. H. Bird, merchant, (6) Mudaliyar

A. C. Cumaraswami, interpreter of the revenue commissioner, Tamil. But the merchants of Colombo, who were a very independent set and great critics of the government and the principal persons responsible for the royal commission and the reforms, remained out of council on a question of precedence and challenged the validity of the laws passed without unofficals. They held out during the term of Horton and entered council only on the invitation of his successor.



Dr. Christopher Elliot

The only printing presses in the island were the government press and a few small presses maintained

197. THE PRESS
(1832-1837)

by the Missionary Societies for the publication of religious books. There was no law against the establishment of a newspaper, but Colebrooke pointed

out that so long as the governor had power to banish a person from the island without trial, there could be no outspoken newspaper. He therefore recommended the home government to do away with the governor's power, which was accordingly done.

The first newspaper in Ceylon was started by Horton himself and printed at the government press.

**198. CEYLON
OBSERVER**

Horton was a man of literary tastes, and his private secretary and son-in-law was also a person given to writing. In the civil service were men like George Turnour, Major Forbes, George Lee and Dr. Marshall, all of whom wrote books on Ceylon. With the collaboration of these officials, Horton started the *Colombo Journal*; but the home government did not approve of a government newspaper and directed Horton to leave it to private enterprise. The merchants of Colombo thereupon started a weekly broadsheet called the *Colombo Observer* in 1834. It was first edited by a merchant, J. Darley, afterwards by a planter, George Winter, but soon an ardent Irishman, Dr. Christopher Elliot, who had come out to Ceylon as assistant colonial surgeon, threw up his appointment and became editor and proprietor (1836-1858). It was originally a radical journal, opposed to the government.

A committee of gentlemen then started a pro-government paper, *The Chronicle*, supported by

Horton and the officials. On Horton's departure, *The Chronicle* changed its name to *The Herald*

**199. OTHER
NEWSPAPERS**

(1838-1846) and afterwards to *The Ceylon Times* (1846). In that same year the lawyers, mostly Burghers, started *The Examiner* (1846-1900.) *The Ceylon Observer* was joined in 1846 by A. M.

Ferguson who took it over completely when Dr. Elliot was persuaded to become the head of the civil medical department (1858-1859). Elliot and Ferguson were the chief movers of the agitation which led to the appointment of a parliamentary investigation and the recall of Governor Torrington and his colonial secretary, Emerson Tennent. The missionary bodies also started several periodicals, and altogether Ceylon was fairly well supplied with newspapers.



A. M. Ferguson

On the recommendation of the commissioners, the government in 1834 appointed a general school committee (1834-1841) or board of education, comprising the chief government officials and all the English clergy in Colombo, with subordinate

200. EDUCATION

committees in the provincial towns, consisting of the government agent, the district judge and the English chaplain. The reason why the English clergy were given prominence was that the majority of the best conducted English schools belonged to the missions. The missionary schools and even the government schools were in their charge. The Catholic schools were regarded as private schools. The committee recommended that there should be no government schools in places where the missions had already set up a school; and as English was necessary for public employment, there was a rush for English education, and the vernaculars were neglected to a most alarming extent. The Colombo Academy (now Royal College) was started in 1836, and the Catholics started an English school in 1839 with the aid of a government grant. In 1841 a new central school board was instituted on the same lines as its predecessor to promote English education, and for the first time a Catholic member was appointed to the board. This board was entrusted with the task of distributing the educational grant, and consequently there was brought in, what has come to be called, the conscience clause. All mission schools were avowedly religious schools, and the board even encouraged them to be so. It only required that compulsion should not be restored to. And to ensure this, a clause was added that no pupil should be forced to listen to the exposition of a religion which was not his. All schools were divided into three classes; government schools or schools under the charge of chaplains, Mission schools, and private schools.

In this arrangement the Buddhists and the Hindus, who formed the majority of the inhabitants,

were left out. Without any efficient organization for educational purposes, they were unable to provide schools, with the result that non-Christians had either to forego English education or jeopardize their faith by attending the mission or chaplains' schools. English education thus came to be associated with Christianity, to the discredit both of Christianity and English education.

In ecclesiastical organization too, the Buddhists and Hindus were outdone by the Christians. The first to organize was the Catholic Church. The Pope, apprised of the constitutional changes in the island, wished to constitute the island into a bishopric and after various negotiations the island was constituted into an incipient diocese or vicariate apostolic, and an Indian priest named Vincente de Rosario was appointed bishop (1838-1842). Soon afterwards the island was divided into two, and two bishops were appointed, one for the north with Jaffna as the episcopal see, and the other in the south with Colombo as the seat. At the request of the Catholics of Ceylon who were eager for English schools, the Pope sent a number of European priests, one of whom was consecrated bishop and sent to Jaffna and another as coadjutor to the second bishop of the south, also an Indian, Cajetano Antonio.

By letters patent of the king, Ceylon was constituted a Protestant diocese in 1845, and Dr. J. Chapman was sent out as bishop, with an archdeacon and several colonial chaplains. This episcopal establishment was the state church and as such was paid by the state. But as all Britishers in Ceylon

201. ECCLESIAS-

TICAL ORGANI- ZATION

202. PROTESTANT DIOCESE

were not members of the Church of England, there was also a Scotch and Dutch Presbyterian church established and paid by the state.

Hitherto it was the king of Ceylon, at Kōtte or Kandy, who regulated the Buddhist ecclesiastical affairs. It was thus the privilege

203. BUDDHISM

of the kings of Kandy to appoint the chief priests of the temples, the lay dignitaries of the *dēwālēs*, and the king regulated the custody and exhibition of the *daladā*. After 1815, the British government exercised these sovereign rights and appointed the Maha Nayakas of Malwatta and Asgiriya and the Diyawadana Nilames by warrants under the hand of the governor. The British Resident in Kandy even gave the *dāna* as the kings used to do, and the *daladā* was in the custody of the board of commissioners. The interference of the government in these religious affairs, observed Colebrooke, though induced by considerations of policy, was attended by much inconvenience and caused displeasure. Governor Stewart even felt the inconsistency of a Christian governor signing the acts of appointment and protested against it in 1841. Orders accordingly came from the home government to discontinue the practice, and the priests were invited to elect their chief whom the government would recognize. Instead of the allowances the government was in the habit of paying, crown land was granted to the temples. The *daladā* likewise was handed over to the custody of the Nayaka priests and the Diyawadana Nilame in 1847 on the understanding that possession would be resumed if the relic were used for any other than religious purposes. In the rebellion of 1848 the

daladā was secreted away, and the government resumed possession for a time and finally handed it over to the same custodians as before.

But though this dissociation of religion from the government was a relief to the government, it was disastrous to the Buddhist temporalities. At the beginning, the government exempted the temple lands from tax. Many thereupon dedicated their lands to the temples in order to evade the taxes. Brownrigg then issued a proclamation requiring all temple lands to be registered. Though this registration was made, the extent of the lands was very inaccurately stated. Colebrooke inspected the registers and was informed that the tenants were very lax in fulfilling their service owing to the remissness of government officials in exacting them. Tenants at a distance like Sabaragamuwa expressed their readiness to commute services by payment, but the chiefs and priests were opposed to the innovation. Accordingly in the abolition of *rājakāriya*, (190) service to temples was expressly excluded.

Colebrooke recommended the government to secure the co-operation of the chiefs and priests for a reform of temple services, and suggested that the service should be commuted for payments and that the revenues be used for the maintenance of an English seminary for the education of Buddhists. This suggestion was taken up by the Ceylon government, but it led to nothing. Temporalities are always a bane to ecclesiastics of all faiths, and the temple lands 'soon degenerated' into the permanent property of the priesthood, though as Sir

Charles Macarthy observed in 1847, the dogmas of the Buddhist religion offered an insurmountable bar to such a conversion.

Though the study of the vernacular languages had begun to be neglected in the rush for English education on the part of the permanent inhabitants of the island, yet missionaries and civil officers of the government began to take an interest in Sinhalese and Pali. William Tolfrey of the civil service, who translated the bible into Sinhalese, prepared a translation of the *Balavatāra*, a Pali grammar, and of the Pali vocabulary of Moggallana, and a Sinhalese-English dictionary. But as he died before completing the work, Benjamin Clough of the Wesleyan mission completed them and published "A Compendious Pali Grammar and Vocabulary" in 1824 at the Wesleyan mission press; and the Sinhalese-English dictionary in 1830. Meanwhile George Turnour of the Civil Service had mastered the Sinhalese and Pali languages and had discovered a copy of the *Mahāvansa Tika* or commentary and prepared an epitome of Sinhalese history.

But in 1833, on the inspiration of Sir Alexander Johnston, there were published in London three volumes entitled "Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon," namely the *Mahāvansa*, *Rājaraṭṭanākariya* and the *Rājāvaliya*, edited by Edward Upham. These were a hasty and uncritical compilation being only an incorrect and misleading translation made by incompetent official interpreters. George Turnour thereupon brought out a critical edition of the original in Pali in Roman script with a translation which was issued by the Kōtte mission

205. LITERARY ACTIVITIES

206. HISTORICAL BOOKS

press (1836-1837). Two other well known Ceylonese men of letters came forward with articles and writings on the history and antiquities and literature of Ceylon, namely Simon Casie Chitty and James de Alwis, both of whom afterwards sat in the legislative council for their respective communities. The former compiled a 'Gazetteer of Ceylon' and several other publications, while the latter was principally engaged in a monumental work on Sinhalese Grammar, the *Sidat Sangarawa*, published in 1851. A Royal Asiatic Society and an Agricultural Society had also been founded to encourage study and research.

II

COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE

The protective duties levied in England on Ceylon coffee were reduced in 1835 and owing to the failing supplies from the West Indies, all eyes were eagerly turned to Ceylon. Coffee cultivation in consequence began to prosper so fast that the Kandyan country was dotted with coffee estates. In the decade 1834-1843 as many as 247,128 acres of crown land were sold, one single individual buying up 30,825 acres at five shillings each, the price of one hundredweight of coffee or one bushel of rice at Kandy. Not all this land was immediately opened in coffee, for many bought land on speculation. But the mountain ranges on all sides of Kandy became rapidly covered with plantations. The great valley of Dumbara, Ambagamuwa, Kotmalê, Pussellawa were occupied by speculators. They settled in the steep passes ascending to Nuwara Eliya; they penetrated to Badulla and Uva; and coffee trees bloomed on solitary hills around the very base of Adam's Peak.

207. THE

PLANTING

ENTERPRISE

The coffee mania was at its highest in 1845. The governor, the public officials, the military, the judges, the English clergy and half the members of the civil service, became coffee planters.

208. COFFEE The East India Company officers invested their savings in coffee, and capitalists arrived by every packet. In them came European settlers of every grade and age, among whom were not a few whose habits and conduct tended much to diminish the respect in which the English character had been held. The government, moreover, by allowing its servants to embark in seductive speculations, weakened the moral influence and authority they previously possessed. Intemperance was introduced, and low-country men and coolies from India flocked to the Kandyan country, spreading contaminating influence over a previously sober and orderly race.

With the spread of coffee estates came the establishment of a bank and a chamber of commerce (1838). Mail coaches began to run from Colombo to Kandy (1832) and proved so successful a

**209. COMMERCIAL
ACTIVITIES**

venture that another service was established with Galle in 1838 and with Negombo in 1841. Roads multiplied to keep pace with the transport, but it still cost more time and difficulty to send coffee from Kandy to Colombo than from the latter place to England by the long sea route. The need for transport facilities was so pressing that a company was floated in England to construct a railway from Colombo to Kandy. It was founded in 1845 with a capital of a million pounds, a Ceylon committee was formed and a survey was made, but as a similar company in India received a guarantee from the

government, the local committee and the chamber of commerce appealed to the home government for a similar guarantee.

But meanwhile, in the midst of apparent prosperity, there came a crash due to a financial crisis in England. Remittances ceased, prices fell and credit failed. Estates were forced into the market and sold for a fraction of the outlay. An estate bought in 1843 for £15,000 was sold in 1847 for £50. The railway project was put aside and even the transport company that was founded had to close down.

III

GOVERNORS

Sir Robert Wilmot Horton (1831-1837) ruled at a time of prosperity, enterprise and reforms, but his successor, James Alexander Stewart Mackenzie, (1837-1841) was faced with financial difficulties resulting from the transition. The old sources of revenue had been swept away by the reforms, and the new conditions demanded expenditure. The pearl fishery, so successful in the time of his predecessor, became barren for a number of years. The revenue from the cinnamon monopoly was now lost, but the establishment still continued; the fish-tax was removed; the construction and maintenance of roads necessary for the planting enterprise became a burden on the country. The hospitals, prisons, the lunatic asylum, medical department, the schools and the attempt to reclaim the Veddass, all called for expenditure. But though

the cinnamon gardens were sold and the department disbanded, the finances of the colony fell far below the expenditure.

Sir Collin Campbell (1841-1847) assumed the government at a time when the coffee industry was making progress. A good
212. CAMPBELL deal of British capital was invested in coffee, and the revenue of the island increased in proportion, quite apart from the question whether the planting operations prospered or not. This increased revenue enabled the governor to increase the civil establishment, and Campbell had the very unpleasant task of reforming the civil service, forbidding commerce and speculation to its members, and inviting them to study the languages spoken in the country. He had also to reconstruct the judicature, as the system of a single district court inaugurated by Cameron proved insufficient in a litigious country where, according to the evil effects of the Roman Dutch law, property was owned in ridiculously small undivided shares, giving rise to crime and litigation. He instituted police courts and courts of requests and village tribunals and coroners. He also abolished slavery definitively in the island.

On his departure, Sir Emerson Tennent, the colonial secretary, became lieutenant-governor, contrary to the usual practice, according to which the officer commanding the forces administers the government. Tennent had come to Ceylon as colonial secretary with the hope of ultimately becoming the governor. He profited by the opportunity to collect material for his great work on Ceylon, which in spite of years is still the best account of the island.

But he administered the government only for six short weeks, as Viscount Torrington landed in the island as governor.

Torrington (1847-1850) was both unfortunate and incompetent. The fictitious prosperity caused by the planting industry made

213. TORRINGTON the government think that the colony would make great progress

by the advent of British Capital and colonists. Money was abundant, trade was brisk and revenue flourishing at the beginning of his term, and few were the officials who could foresee that the prosperity in which the sons of the soil had little share could neither be lasting nor productive of real good. Moreover, the governor and the majority of the members of the executive had little knowledge of the country as a whole. They knew Colombo and Galle and Kandy and Nuwara Eliya and their acquaintance was confined to the districts covered by carriage roads. The means necessary for the general improvement of the country were doled out with a penurious hand to the remoter districts. And while in Colombo and its neighbourhood large sums were expended in affording the population means of education far more profound than their position in life and ultimate destinies required, and while the Christian population was being catered and provided for under the exertions of the English missionaries, in remote districts the means of education were culpably deficient. Nay more, few were the men who had even an inkling of the feelings that swayed the breasts of the permanent population when they perceived the revenues of the country exhausted on improvements that benefited the planter and the British colonists.

IV

REBELLION

But the attempt to shake off the connection of the government with Buddhism greatly irritated the Buddhist priesthood and the chiefs; and the thoughtless attempts of the new governor and his colonial secretary to increase revenue by ridiculous taxes such as the dog tax, and gun-tax, the road-tax, the shop-tax, and the veranda-tax and other meticulous taxes caused widespread resentment. Dr. Elliot and A. M. Ferguson of the *Observer* who declaimed against these iniquities were looked upon as mischievous agitators. The road-tax seemed unfair for two reasons. First of all it looked like a revival of the *Rājakāriya*, but above all it appeared to be calculated to benefit the European planter, who it was that needed roads, while the jungle paths were quite sufficient for the needs of the people. In the Kandyan country the roads were especially dreaded because they brought the low-country trader and speculator to upset the simple economy of the Kandyan villages. The Buddhist people were most scandalized to find that the tax was levied even from their priests, who by profession were mendicants. The dissatisfaction was not confined to the permanent inhabitants of the island. In 1846 the merchants and planters petitioned the governor for relief from the tax, and when no redress was given, they memorialized the secretary of state, praying for relief "from certain burdens under which the inhabitants of this colony are at present labouring." Finally in 1848 a public meeting was convened to petition the houses of parliament on the depressed state of the colony.

214. DISSATIS-
FACTION

Before any steps could be taken, the disaffection burst into riotous acts which the government looked upon as a serious rebellion and punished with a severity which finally led to the recall of the governor. The occasion for the riots was the gun-tax, which coming upon many others, was very unpopular in the island as a whole, but especially in the Kandyan country. There, every villager needed a gun and kept an antique flint-lock to keep away wild beasts from his fields and his hut. Few villagers possessed coined money and those who had enough to pay the tax were obliged to lose several days' labour to make a long journey to a kachcheri to pay it. Accordingly the villagers showed their resentment in a somewhat unruly fashion. These demonstrations appeared rebellious to some inexperienced officials and military men who retained a vivid memory of past disasters in Kandy.

The recollection of past rebellions was in great measure responsible for the hasty and severe measures adopted by the government. The military had never forgotten the disaster that befell Major Davie in 1803. The rebellion of 1818 reduced the government to straits and the Kandyans almost succeeded in getting rid of British rule. It was only the loyalty of Molligoda that saved the day. The chief difficulty then was the absence of means of communication and transport and the disloyalty of the majority of the chiefs who had signed the convention. The governor, therefore, modified the convention and reduced the power of the chiefs, while his successor opened up the country by a network of roads. These two measures

215. REBELLION
1848

216. EFFECT OF
PAST
REBELLIONS
(1803-1818)

made a rebellion well nigh impossible. But the Kandyan people, who were accustomed to depend on the chiefs, and who had so often got rid of invaders owing to the inaccessibility of the country, did not realize how much the face of affairs had been changed by the new roads and by the curtailment of the powers of the chiefs.

Thus in 1820 when a pretender appeared in Bintenna, and assuming the name of Kumaraswāmi

Wimaladharma Narēndra Sinha, attempted to stir the country to

217. (1818-1835) rebellion, no chief supported

him, and he was captured without trouble, court-martialled and sentenced to death; but the sentence was commuted to transportation to Mauritius.

Another abortive rebellion was attempted at Nuwarakalāwiya in 1823 without support from any chief, and again the leader was arrested at Anuradhapura and his supporters dispersed without trouble. These and other minor attempts all failed because they were not supported by chiefs. But in 1834 the chiefs were greatly incensed by the constitutional changes introduced on the recommendation of Colebrooke. The Kandyan Provinces were united to the Maritime Provinces, *rājakāriya* was abolished, their retainers were freed from service, and even their very slaves were on the point of being liberated. While their former powers were now being wielded by civil servants, they were reduced to the level of low-country headmen. All this greatly diminished the consequence of the chiefs, and they spoke very freely of their grievances. There was some wild talk of seeking aid from the French or inviting the king of Siam to drive out the British. Upon this a Kandyan nobleman, anxious to curry

favour with the officials, denounced some of the leading Kandyanans for high treason. It was alleged that Molligoda the younger, who had become first adigār on the death of his brother, was plotting with Dunuwilla Disāwa and some priests to seize the *daladā*, corrupt the Malays, and massacre the English. Some anonymous palm leaf writings were found and carried to the colonial secretary, and the informer described the plot in great detail. The suspects were immediately arrested, the military called out, and though contrary to the informer's tale absolutely no trace of preparations were detected, the chiefs and priests were made to stand their trial before the newly constituted supreme court and under the newly introduced jury system.

The prisoners refused a jury of their countrymen and asked to be tried by a jury of Englishmen and low-country Sinhalese. Fortunately for them the Sinhalese jurymen were in a majority, and

**218. THE STATE
TRIAL OF 1835**

the evidence led by the government seemed to them so flimsy that they declared the prisoners 'not guilty' while the Englishmen were for a conviction. The judge, the English jurymen, the governor and his council and most of the officials, were persuaded of the guilt of the prisoners, though men like Major Thomas Skinner, who were better acquainted with the people, were quite convinced that it was a trumped-up charge. "I shall never forget my humiliation," wrote Skinner in his recollections, "when as the gun fired, I burst open the hall door and instead of finding the palace (*walauwa*) bristling with men armed to the teeth, I was accosted by an old cripple, who came forward with a lantern to ask what we

wanted. I ran upstairs with a sergeant and file of men to Molligoda's bedroom, where I found him asleep with his little boy. They were both, as well they might be, utterly surprised at this intrusion on their morning's repose. My orders were to take my prisoners to the general parade, where the troops had all been turned out. I handed them over and then received orders to march my detachment back to their lines and dismiss them. I was heartily glad to get away from the scene in which I performed so unenviable a part. It is impossible to conceive what could have been the motive for the evidence which had been trumped up against this chief, whom I had known from my first employment on the roads and had always believed to be a decidedly loyal subject." Molligoda was deposed, and the informer Mahawalatenne made first adigār; but subsequently the government realized its error and made Molligoda Disāwa of the Four Kōralēs. In 1843 another abortive insurrection was headed by Chandragotte Unānse who was arrested and transported on his own confession. The people were not so dense as to expect to be able to effect a successful rebellion without the aid of the chiefs, however much they were displeased when the government dissociated itself from the Buddhist religion.

In July, 1848, a large crowd of villagers appeared before the government agent of Kandy to protest against the gun-tax. Emerson Tennent, the colonial secretary, arrived in Kandy and addressed a concourse of chiefs and headmen on the subject of the taxes, after which the people dispersed. A few days later a still larger

**219. THE SO-CALLED
REBELLION
OF 1848**

crowd assembled in Colombo and were marching to the Fort to remonstrate with the governor, when Dr. Christopher Elliot of the *Observer* appealed to them to disperse, promising to make representations in the proper form. They dispersed, but disturbances of a similar nature took place all over the country in the lowlands as well as in the highlands. At Matale the crowds became unruly and burnt and sacked some houses and proclaimed a low-countryman, Purang Appu, king of Kandy. Another pretender, named Gongallagoda Banda, appeared at Dambulla and was likewise acclaimed. Viscount Torrington thereupon lost his head, called out the military, summoned aid from India and placed the whole of Matale, Kandy, Dambulla, and Kurunegala under martial law.

The troops marching from Kandy to Matale encountered some armed men at Wariapola and forty were shot down without
220. EXCESSES . any loss to the troops. The military then occupied Matale, issued proclamations, seized alleged rebels, confiscated property and shot men without ceremony after a drum-head court martial. It was apparent to all that the movement was not a dangerous one. Beyond the gatherings of one or two hundred men at a time and the robbing of one or two planters' bungalows, nothing of importance had occurred. No chief was concerned, not a single European life was lost; yet Torrington, listening to his panicky councillors, continued martial law for a long period, and from first to last about two hundred alleged 'rebels' were shot or hanged, while others were publicly flogged and imprisoned. The governor

looked upon Dr. Elliot and A. M. Ferguson as the instigators, and the former even received a hint not to show himself within the martial law area.

There was, however, such a current of opinion against the proceedings of the governor that he

221. PUBLIC thought it best to invoke the
RESENTMENT action of the civil tribunals, and
 a few acres of Kandy were
 exempted from martial law to enable the chief
 justice to try some of the rebels for high treason.
 This was a confession of weakness. Either the country
 was too disturbed for civil courts to sit, or it was
 sufficiently peaceable to render courts martial
 unnecessary. As it was, while the judge was sitting
 in one part of Kandy, from another part were heard
 the reverberations of a volley which terminated the
 existence of a man who had been tried the same day
 for the same crime by a court-martial. Thirty-four
 men stood their trial before the supreme court, and
 seventeen were convicted. At a second sessions
 eighteen more received sentence. But the chief
 justice, Sir Anthony Oliphant, recommended the
 prisoners as fit subjects for the governor's clemency
 adding "When it is considered that no European
 has been put to death, that only one soldier has
 been wounded by the rebels, that no persons have
 appeared in warlike array against the troops since
 the outbreak at Matale and Kurunēgala, the blood
 which has been already spilt is sufficient for all
 purposes, whether of vindication of the law or for
 example." This rebuff irritated the governor, for the
 chief justice's opinion was public and the governor
 dared not go against the expressed recommendation
 of the head of the judiciary.

Meanwhile Purang Appu and Gongallagoda Banda were taken and shot, and a priest named Kuddapolla Unānse was tried by the court-martial for failing to give information which might lead to the arrest of a rebel. On this curious charge he was arraigned and sentenced to be shot. The queen's advocate, H. C. Selby, considered the evidence insufficient for a conviction, let alone for the sentence, and begged the governor for a reprieve, but Torrington refused in strong language which he afterwards regretted, and the priest was shot. The indignation aroused by these severities of the governor was intense. It was reported that the chief justice threatened to resign if one man more were shot.

Dr. Elliot, A. M. Ferguson, Richard Morgan, Lawrence Oliphant, son and private secretary of the chief justice, led an agitation in the island and communicated with friends in England who placed the matter before members of parliament. T. J. McChristie, an English barrister, who had been in Ceylon, became the London agent of the agitation, and Joseph Hume and Henry Baillie championed the cause in the House of Commons. A committee of the House was appointed to inquire, and Baillie, Sir Robert Peel, Gladstone and Disraeli were among the committee men. They requested the House to order home for examination some of the principal complainants, the queen's advocate, Selby, his brother, John Selby, the chief justice, Colonel Braybrook, and Lieutenant Henderson, along with the principal offenders, Captain Watson, who enforced martial-law in Matale and Lt. Col. Drought,

**222. A PRIEST
SHOT**

223. AGITATION

commandant of Kandy. Tennent and Woodhouse also went to represent the case for the government, and in order to clear themselves, they produced some private letters of Torrington.

The chief charge and the blackest was that a Buddhist priest had been shot in his robes in spite of the intercession of the chief

224. INQUIRY

law officers of the crown. Captain Watson endeavoured to deny the authenticity of certain proclamations issued by him and now produced before the committee. The latter thereupon sent two commissioners, Morehead and Rhode, to Ceylon to investigate on the spot, and they declared for their genuineness. McChristie was now bent on procuring the impeachment of Torrington and the trial of Col. Drought. But Torrington was the cousin of the premier, and a great effort was made to save him, and in fact it was not he who was to blame, but his councillors. Unfortunately the committee could not conclude its labours before the end of the sessions and the motion praying for the appointment of a royal commission was defeated by a narrow majority, the government undertaking to recall Torrington if the matter were not pressed. The unpopularity of these measures led to the fall of the cabinet of Lord Russel.

Meanwhile Torrington sent in his resignation as soon as he learnt from the newspapers that his private letters had been produced before the committee. But before this resignation reached London,

225. RECALL OF TORRINGTON

Earl Grey communicated to the governor that Her Majesty had been pleased to direct him to be relieved of the government of Ceylon and that Sir George

Anderson of Mauritius was appointed to the same. Tennent and Woodhouse also were informed that their services were not required in Ceylon. Captain Watson was afterwards tried by order of the Duke of Wellington, but acquitted. The suppression of the rebellion cost a good sum of money which the government had to raise from a local bank. And an ordinance was quickly passed indemnifying the governor and all other persons for acts done during the existence of martial law. Thus ended the last and the least of the rebellions.

The Collection of Legislative Acts of the Ceylon Government gives the texts of the Order of His Majesty in Council abolishing Compulsory Labour (*rajakariya*), 12th April, 1832, and of the Charter of William IV (18th Feby. 1833), superseding the Charters of 1801. (Sec. 75) 1810 and 1811 (Sec. 140). **The Kandyan State Trial** was edited by me in the C. Lit. Reg. iii series II and III. Major Thomas Skinner's Observations are found in the **Autobiography**. See also "**Ceylon and the Government of Lord Torrington**," containing a correction of the errors in an article in the Quarterly Review for December, 1850, entitled "**The Mysteries of Ceylon**," London, 1857.

Two of the military officers engaged in the work of suppressing the rebellion published scathing condemnations of the severities of martial law viz: Colonel Forbes in "**Recent Disturbances and Military Executions in Ceylon**" (Blackwood and Sons 1850) and Capt. J. Macdonald Henderson in "**The History of the Rebellion in Ceylon under Lord Torrington's Government**" (1868).

About the Fish-tax and Poll-taxes see the papers of Colvin R. de Silva in C. Lit. Reg. iii Series, Vol. II. About the Pearl Fishery, see **Notes on Ceylon** by James Steuart.

CHAPTER XI

PERIOD OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY 1850—1912

I. Principles of Government: 226. Confidence, 227. General Principles, 228. Natural Societies, 229. The Family, 230. The State, 231. Duties of the State, 232. State and Religion, 233. Authority of the State, 234. Form of Government, 235. Self-Government, 236. Politics, 237. Cost of Government. **II. The Constitution of Ceylon:** 238. Summary 1796-1798, 239. 1798-1802, 240. 1802-1832, 241. Mistakes, 242. Crown Colony Government, 243. Need for Change, 244. Proposed British Settlement, 245. First Reform, 246. Defects, 247. English Colonists, 248. Sectional Representation,

I

PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT

The protracted investigation of parliament and the consequent recall of the governor and the discontinuance of two prominent officials from the public service, tended to restore confidence in the supreme government; and the subsequent history of the island is a record of peaceful progress and prosperity. The peace enabled the country to develop its agricultural resources; the successful cultivation of coffee, and subsequently of tea, rubber, and coconut yielded large revenues; and these in turn provided the government with funds to carry out public works of great utility and to foster beneficent institutions for the welfare of the inhabitants.

What public works a government should undertake, to what extent and how, and who is to

decide the kind or number or relative importance of the various public works, are questions which depend on the proper understanding of the rights and duties of governments. And as the chief question of public interest during the period 1850-1912 is that of constitutional reform or how the government of the island should be constituted, the following elementary principles are here stated to enable the student to take an intelligent and enlightened interest in the question.

Man is a social being; that is to say, nature does not intend him to live all by himself. A man needs others for his happiness and welfare, and is in turn needful to others. Therefore, nature provides two societies for the welfare of man, the Family and the State. These are called natural societies because they are required by the nature of man and are necessary for men, everywhere, at all times, and under all circumstances.

All men are born of a father and mother. For some years the new-born infant depends entirely on its parents for its physical growth and wellbeing. When the child is able to get about and speak and look after itself, it still needs the parents for its intellectual and moral training. The parents are in duty bound to rear and educate their children according to their means, and therefore, they have all the authority necessary for it. The child in its turn has a right to the parents' care and the duty to submit to the parents as long as it is under them. These mutual duties and rights of father, mother, and children, constitute the society called the

227. PRINCIPLES

228. NATURAL SOCIETIES

229. THE FAMILY

Family. As such a society is needed by the very nature of man, the family is a natural society with rights which no power on earth can take away.

But the family is not self-sufficient. There are many things needed for the welfare of the family which the family is unable to

230. THE STATE

provide for itself. Therefore nature prompts families to unite for mutual assistance, protection, and improvement. Such a union of families is a tribe, and when one or more tribes live in a country, geographically distinct, and are united by a common speech or history, it is called a nation. When such a nation is self-sufficient, that is when it has all the means necessary for attaining the welfare of the community, it is a State. A State therefore is a perfect self-sufficient society consisting of many families bound together under a common head for attaining the welfare of the community. Each family seeks its own welfare, but the State seeks the welfare of all the families.

When a tribe or nation develops and expands, it must develop into a State. There is no other condition towards which it can develop than self-sufficiency; and when a tribe or nation is self-sufficient, it has all that is necessary to be a State. In order to have this self-sufficiency, a tribe or nation must first of all be independent of other similar natural societies. Next it must possess all the means necessary for attaining its end. These means may be economic, judicial, and political. The State must be able to give the family public security, a sound moral environment, national defence, the administration of justice, and promote ordered national prosperity.

The object of the State is the common good, not the good of an individual, or of a family or of a class only. The individual and the family can look after their own good; the common good is attained only by a State. It is the duty of the State therefore to maintain traditional customs or laws; to regulate and maintain order; to defend the rights of the community; to apportion the cost and labour of the State evenly among the families; to give everyone as much liberty and as ample an opportunity of seeking his good, as is consistent with the like liberty and opportunities of the others. Thus the government of a country must be for the welfare of the governed. There are some things which every government must do. It must let people live in peace, enjoy the fruits of their labour, preserve their life, limb, and property from attack. There are other things which a government must do, *if it can*. It must help people to lead physically healthy lives and therefore must promote sanitation, afford parks, medical help, hospitals and asylums according to the means and needs of the people. It must help people to be healthy in mind and must therefore promote education by schools, museums, universities; it must help and encourage arts and sciences; it must help people to live comfortably and therefore must provide comforts of life, help agriculture, irrigation, commerce; open means of communication, roads, bridges, canals, railways, etc.

Though Religion is necessary to man as a social being, and therefore to the State, in practice there can well be no State religion, unless all the individuals, or at least the large majority, profess the same religion. Therefore State religions exist

231. DUTIES OF THE STATE

232. STATE AND RELIGION

only in countries and at a time when all the people are of the same religion. When they are not of the same religion, or have ceased to be of the same religion, then the State must either establish all the religions professed in a country or disestablish every religion. Its chief duty in this matter is to ensure toleration for all religions.

The bond of every society is authority. There must be an authority in the State to direct the co-operation of the citizens. As

233. AUTHORITY OF THE STATE the State has the duty of promoting the common good of the nation, it has by nature the authority to enforce the measures necessary for the common good. Thus it has the legislative power or the power to pass laws, the executive power or the power to execute the laws and administer the State, and the judicial power to judge and punish according to the laws.

The kind or form of the government of a state is generally the result of the thoughts, aspirations, and endeavours of the people, and the degree of enlightenment the nation has attained. It

234. FORM OF GOVERNMENT therefore depends on the people's character, genius, and history. Most governments are originally monarchical, that is the authority is wielded by one man. Then it generally becomes an oligarchy or government by a few, and finally a polyarchy or government by the many. This authority again may be absolute or despotic, constitutional or limited. None of these forms are essentially good, none essentially bad. Whatever the form of the government, its rights and duties are the same and

are limited. For there are some things that do not concern the State, some that concern it only indirectly, and some that are its direct concern.

A nation is said to be self-governing when the laws observed and the taxes levied are decided by the people themselves. This is

235. SELF-

GOVERNMENT

done when the people elect the persons who make the laws and control the departments of the State and who are responsible to the people. Therefore self-government is representative government, and all representative governments are governments by the majority. In order that a country may have majority government, it is necessary that it should be homogeneous, that is to say all the members of the nation must be similar in race, character, and religion. If a country is inhabited by men of different races, castes, and religions, it is extremely difficult and almost impossible to have a representative form of government, unless the different communities are united by history, education, and culture and show a tendency to act together harmoniously, in spite of differences, and to respect the racial and religious prejudices of each other. Till this is done, a country cannot well have a representative form of government.

The activities of a community to adapt the acts of the government to the changing needs and views of the community is called

236. POLITICS

politics. The activities of the people to do their duty by the State is civics. Under a representative form of government, politics are chiefly concerned in making the government suited to the views of the people. The views of the majority of today may become a

minority view tomorrow and *vice versa* by a change of public opinion. Then the government changes and the new view prevails. Under a form of government which is not representative, politics are chiefly concerned with trying to make the government democratic and representative.

The duties of the State require labour or money, and therefore all those who benefit by the State, that is every citizen, must contribute his labour or its equivalent in money. The more amenities and comforts of life a nation wishes to have, the more must each contribute. These contributions are called taxes, which if paid in kind or money are called direct taxes, but if included in the price of articles are called indirect taxes. The great problem of a government is so to arrange the taxation that the burden may not fall unevenly, and every man contribute according to the measure of the benefits he derives from the State.

**237. COST OF
GOVERNMENT**

II

CONSTITUTION OF CEYLON

When the British seized the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, the latter were under the government of the Dutch East India Company.

238. (1796-1798)

That was a trading government, namely it governed the country in the interests of the Company. The British continued the policy and governed the island in the interests of the British East India Company. They retained the laws and ordinances of the Dutch, abolished such measures as were repugnant to British ideas, such as torture and religious persecution; administered justice according to the pre-existing

courts, and collected the revenue for the Company. But as the geographical position of the island gave it a special importance in the struggle between the English and the French for supremacy in India, the British settlements in Ceylon were taken under the government of the Crown of England, in 1798. (50).

A governor was appointed by the king of England to administer the civil government, and the East India Company was allowed to collect revenue and provide for the expenses of the government. This arrangement was not satisfactory, and in 1802 the Crown took over the complete control of the government along with the responsibility of making up for any deficiency in the colony's finances. (73).

The object of England in retaining the island was its strategic importance. But the English government was alive to the grave responsibility that the country must be administered in the interests of the people, for though formerly the idea prevailed that colonies were for the welfare of the mother country, it was soon realized by English statesmen that the primary object of a government was the welfare of the governed. The laws and customs of the people were to be preserved; the prejudices of the people to be respected. It was considered the duty of the government to introduce gradually into the country the rights and privileges which the British people had won for themselves by centuries of strife and warfare. The democratic institutions of England, however, were not to be introduced all at once but gradually, according to

the measure in which the people of the country showed a desire to possess them and a disposition to use them aright. Meanwhile it was considered the duty of the government to educate the people to the British political ideals.

The British had at first little knowledge of the political institutions of the people and little inclination to study them. From a superficial examination of the history of the country, and from

241. MISTAKES

the fact that it had become an easy prey to two European nations, and that it was deficient in the material comforts to which Europeans had grown accustomed, they did not realize, what is now well known, that the basis of the ancient political constitution of Ceylon was greatly similar to the system that existed in England only a century earlier. Accordingly they did not endeavour to build up a constitution on the existing foundations, but swept away what appeared in their eyes to be backward and primitive.

A Crown colony government is an attempt to harmonize the economic and political interests of

242. CROWN COLONY GOVERNMENT

England with the welfare of the people of the colony. For this purpose the governor receives certain powers by a commission of the king and becomes the representative of the Crown. He is made subject to the existing laws of the country (to secure the welfare of the people) and to the directions of the British parliament conveyed to him by despatches of the secretary of state. However, as one man, and that a foreigner, could not easily

judge what was good for the people, the governor was given a council. This was only a precautionary measure, for the governor was merely requested to consult, without any obligation to follow the views of the council. If he did anything which the others judged to be detrimental, the secretary of state would know of it from the minutes of the council proceedings which were therefore periodically sent to him for the purpose. The councillors thus appointed were only a few of the prominent officials of the government, as ignorant of the customs and habits of the people as the governor himself. The idea of appointing persons to this council who could express the views of the people was not very feasible, as the proceedings were in English and in accordance with English usage.

Meanwhile two important events led to a revision of the constitution. The first was that the kingdom of Kandy was ceded to the British in 1815 and the governor in the name of the king of England undertook to preserve the laws, customs, and religion of the kingdom and especially the rights and privileges of the chiefs. The constitution of the British government of Kandy was therefore different from that of the Maritime Provinces. In the latter was a council of British civilians; in the former the governor was only bound by the terms of the convention and the privileges of the chiefs. The governor's council in the Maritime Provinces had unanimously approved the annexation of Kandy; the chiefs of Kandy likewise unanimously accepted the English king. But in 1818 when the chiefs

**243. NEED FOR
CHANGE**

rebelled, the governor using the inherent powers of a sovereign, modified the powers of the chiefs and assumed a greater authority over the country, unfettered by His Majesty's council as well as by the chiefs. (154)

The second event of importance was the movement that began after the annexation of Kandy, to make Ceylon a settlement of European immigrants. Previously it had been forbidden to Europeans to settle down in Ceylon, but the prohibition was soon withdrawn, and settlers were not only invited but even welcomed and privileged. There was at first a hazy idea of making Ceylon a colony in the literal sense, namely a settlement for the redundant population of the United Kingdom. But the climatic conditions of Ceylon were not favourable, and the proposed settlement developed into the planting enterprise which required capital, and those who came were chiefly adventurous capitalists, whose object was not to inhabit the land but to profit by its agricultural resources, and that in their own interests and not in the interests of the island except indirectly. However, as they had invested their capital in the new colony and were kith and kin of the new rulers, they came to have a preponderating influence on the government. The administration of the island under these circumstances was a financial burden to England, and as the English colonists maintained that this was due to the system of government and were clamouring for a reform of the constitution, a royal commission was sent out to inquire into the administration, revenue, and judicature of Ceylon. (184).

On the recommendation of these commissioners, the constitution of Ceylon was modified by the introduction of a Legislative and an Executive Council. The former was given an elementary form of representation by the appointment of six nominated unofficial members, and the consent of the Legislative Council was made obligatory for legislation. The Executive Council was still to consist of officials only. It was practically the governor's cabinet, though he was not bound to adopt the resolutions of the Executive Council.

**245. FIRST
REFORM**

This new constitution was only a benevolent despotism, modified by the distant authority of the secretary of state. But incredible as it may seem, though this island had made great advance in social and economic matters, the constitution granted in 1833 remained unchanged in principle for nearly eighty years, in spite of agitations from all classes of inhabitants and though the defects of the constitution were patent to all. The reason for the preservation of the constitution, as judged by the deeds rather than by the professions of the government, seems to be the following.

246. DEFECTS

This constitution was given mainly, if not solely, owing to the agitations of the English colonists, and their interests were amply safeguarded. For instance though the total European population of Ceylon exclusive of the public service did not exceed 800, while the permanent population was about a million and a half, three out of the six unofficials were to represent European interests, that is in the proportion of one to two thousand. There was no doubt that the ability, enterprise, capital, and energy

**247. ENGLISH
COLONISTS**

of the colonists, made them a dominant class, but as they all intended to return to England as soon as they had sufficiently enriched themselves, they were mere sojourners in the land. The favour extended to them could not but be detrimental to the interests of the permanent population. Moreover, nearly all the officials of the council were landowners and planters, and thus planting and commerce and European interests in general were overwhelmingly represented in the council, while the interests of the permanent population were entrusted to a class of persons who actually represented only a section of the people.

This tendency is best illustrated by an amusing instance. When trial by jury was introduced into

**248. SECTIONAL
REPRESENTATION**

Ceylon, (105) a certain section of the inhabitants of this island, who had monopolized indliyarships from the days of the Dutch, and had now monopolized the seats in council, insisted that not only caste but even classes within castes should be observed in the jury system; and they had their way. After the institution of the Legislative Council, the government proposed to do away with these ridiculous distinctions. But the measure was opposed on the ground that it was below the dignity of the "first" class of a caste to sit in a jury with others of the same caste. When this assumption of superiority was treated as a piece of arrogance, the malcontents asked to let a lawyer plead their case before the Council. This was conceded on the condition that the other side should also be represented by counsel. Accordingly James Steuart was retained by the exclusives and the young lawyer, Richard F. Morgan appeared contra. The council listened to the arguments and did away with the preposterous claim.

CHAPTER XII

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

I. First Stage of Political Agitation: 249. British Colonists, 250. Control of Purse, 251. Control Evaded, 252. Political Battle, 253. Opposition of Unofficials, 254. Victory, 255. Resignation, 256. Ceylon League, 257. Kandy Herald, 258. End of League, 259. Justification. **II. Second Stage of Agitation:** 260. Ceylonese, 261. Their Demand, 262. Council Reform, 263. New Council.

I

FIRST STAGE OF POLITICAL AGITATION

The constitution of Ceylon, established in 1833, consisted of a governor, representing the Crown and administering the executive government with the advice of a council of officials and nominated unofficials. The governor has power to override both councils if he thinks it necessary, and the official majority enables him to carry out his plans even in legislation; but his somewhat arbitrary powers are limited by instructions from the secretary of state.

The British colonists were not satisfied with this constitution and began to agitate for reform. They wished to make the Legislative Council a representative assembly, and claimed to speak on behalf of the inhabitants of the island in general. The British parliament, however, was not ready to admit their claim to speak on behalf of the people of Ceylon. "The state of society opposing obstacles to the grant of representative institutions to Ceylon, the publicity of all proposed ordinances affords the next best security against ill-advised legislation."

However in 1839 the Legislative Council was given a sort of control over the public purse. In

**250. CONTROL
OF PURSE**

1848 in reply to agitation, the secretary of state declared that "in the present social condition of Ceylon with a large native population.....it would be obviously impracticable to introduce at present the principle of direct representation into the legislative body of the colony. But as there exists, and will probably continue to increase, a body of European proprietor capitalists and merchants in the very centre of the native population, and as on their influence and example, their industry and their wealth, the prosperity of the colony must mainly depend, it must naturally be the desire of the British government to recognize in this class at least, the nucleus of a future population of freemen, around which native intelligence and education may cluster, and which may hereafter be the basis of a more extended representation."

In July, 1848, ~~Earl~~ Grey declared that the control of the public purse by the Legislative Council meant that "appropriation of revenue should in every case, without exception, rest on legal enactment, and in no case on a simple intimation of the secretary of state." This was a most valued concession, which the council exercised with great persistence, for though the purse strings were in the hands of the government, the council had the right to scrutinize every item of expenditure. The rule, however, was not strictly observed, and the governor often sanctioned expenditure on his own authority and afterwards introduced supplementary ordinances to cover expenditure incurred when the council was

**251. CONTROL
EVADED**

not in session. The secretary of state also continued to order appropriation of revenue for the military establishment without reference to the council.

This disregard in practice of an admitted right led to the first political battle. The military expenditure of the colony was for a long time borne partly by the imperial government and partly paid by the colony. Thus in 1857 the imperial government paid £115,685 and the Ceylon government only £74,359. But a select committee of the House of Commons considered this a state of affairs unparalleled in the history of colonization, for both Spain and Holland not only recovered all military expenditure from their colonies but even the surplus revenue. Ceylon was then spending large sums on railways and other public works. Accordingly the colony was called upon to undertake the whole cost of its military establishment, and for this purpose the secretary of state directed the surplus revenue of the colony to be paid to the treasury and not expended on public works.

But this demand violated the principle that the Legislative Council had control of the purse, for it had no voice in fixing the military expenditure. Accordingly when Major-General O'Brien opened the sessions of 1864 and made no reference to the military expenditure, the unofficials took up the matter. It was the custom of the council to reply to the governor's opening address. When the council on this occasion sat to draft the reply, it was found that there were only five officials present to six unofficials. The latter promptly profited by their temporary majority to pass a vote of censure against the government.

252. POLITICAL BATTLE

253. OPPOSITION OF UNOFFICIALS

George Wall moved an amendment, stating that 'the council felt slighted by the governor's omission to refer to the important matter of military expenditure.' This amendment was ruled out, as it was not within the rights of the council to comment on matters not referred to in the governor's address. Wall then moved a second amendment stating that 'the present prosperity of the island was due to the commerce and not to any encouragement of enterprise by the government.' This was defeated, as

254. VICTORY



George Wall

one of the unofficials voted against it. A third was moved in the following terms: "That this council desire to record their dissatisfaction and discontent

that revenues had been exacted for several years so far beyond the requirements of the public service and so much larger than could be devoted to public purposes, and they further complained that whilst the revenues have been so abundant, the efficiency of nearly every public department has been seriously impaired by the parsimonious policy of the government." This was passed and the council adjourned after five hours' discussion. A vote against the government was a novelty in a colonial assembly and agitation for council reform became loud and persistent.

A full council subsequently voted the military expenditure. The unofficials demanded the control of that expenditure, but were refused. Thereupon the unofficials resigned in a body. They were

255. RESIGNATION C. A. Lorenz, George Wall the unofficial leader, W. Thompson, James Capper, James de Alwis and J. Eaton. They expected that their resignation would prevent the council from further business, but Richard F. Morgan, a Ceylonese queen's advocate, as the attorney-general was then called, was equal to the situation and pointed out to the governor that the unofficials were still members of the council till the queen accepted their resignation, and that the council could go on with its business, whether they were present or not. Council accordingly continued to sit, and Morgan became very unpopular among his countrymen.

In reply to the reasoned letter of resignation, the secretary of state upheld the validity of the acts of the council and justified the demand that Ceylon should bear the full cost of the military establishment. But he conceded "that all future

256. THE CEYLON LEAGUE

appropriations of revenue, whether to military or civil purposes, will rest upon ordinance of council and not upon executive acts." Upon this a political association called the Ceylon League was formed and was supported by all classes of the inhabitants of the island. Public meetings were held, memorials were drafted, and subscriptions raised. George Wall went to England to press the matter and succeeded in persuading some members of parliament to take up the cause, but the agitation received a curt and decisive refusal.

A political paper called the *Kandy Herald* was started to fight for reform, but unfortunately that paper published some official documents of a confidential character and caused displeasure both here and in England. The Whigs and Tories were both offended; petty local jealousies cropped up to cripple the League; Richard Morgan became the apologist of the government, and the following words uttered in the council during the sessions of 1868-9 by the acting governor, and believed at the time to have been inspired by Morgan, were the funeral oration of the League.

"The present form of government is one quite suited to your wants, and it would be unwise to introduce innovations or to attempt experiments, however plausible in theory and specious in appearance. In a country where the dominant class bear but a very small proportion to the bulk of the population, where their interests are often different, perhaps conflicting, the real responsibility must always remain with the government; and to

257. **THE KANDY
HERALD**

258. **END OF LEAGUE**

make the government equal to such responsibility you must yield to its power and authority. The fullest benefit of counsel and advice, such as the educated classes, and a council like this representing these classes, are so competent to afford, should be open to the government; but the power to carry out such measures as it considers necessary for the good of the people must be secured to it, and that power it cannot have unless it has a majority in this assembly. Once interfere with its constitution, so that the government should be reduced to the position of making the humiliating confession that it could not venture to propose a measure it conscientiously believed essential to the public service, because it did not feel itself in a position to carry it, you destroy the well-being of the colony and the true welfare of the people.

Until a large majority of the people can be enabled by education to understand their rights, in their true and proper spirit;
259. JUSTIFICATION to maintain them calmly and dispassionately; until they can appreciate and be made equal to the benefits of representative institutions, the power and responsibility of ruling the country must be entrusted to the government, which alone can hold the scales evenly between the diverse classes and interests. Let there be perfect freedom of discussion on all public subjects in the council; but that being secured, let the government be in a position fully to carry out its measures. By these means you will secure the true welfare of the country, and the happiness of its inhabitants."

II

SECOND STAGE OF THE AGITATION

Meanwhile the state of society underwent a change. Hitherto the cry for constitutional reform came first from the English colonists and subsequently from the colonists supported by the Burghers and a few individuals from the dominant class of the other races. But soon the spread of English education led many Ceylonese to take part in political agitation. English history, English political ideas, and the democratic ideals of the world made the Ceylonese, especially those educated in the English universities and familiar with English political life, place themselves in the forefront of local politics. At the same time the class of English colonists who had fought so zealously for constitutional reform, from whose ranks came Dr. Christopher Elliot, A. M. Ferguson and George Wall, dropped out of the political arena or ranged themselves on the side of the established government. The Burghers too, who had for several generations supplied the island with its lawyers, doctors, and clerks, found themselves forced to compete with a growing number of Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim, and Malay aspirants. Some Burghers therefore, feeling the ground give way under their feet, preferred to rely on the privilege of being a middle class between the "native" and the "European" while others reading the signs of the times better, threw in their lot with the common run of the Ceylonese.

Thus it happened that towards the end of the nineteenth century, the demand for constitutional reform came mostly, if not solely, from the permanent inhabitants of the island. Their demands could not be refused on the same grounds as those of the English colonists; but the British parliament was not convinced that the demand of the Ceylonese political leaders was the demand of the whole country. It was undeniable that the majority of the people of the country were not able to appreciate representative institutions or work them in a democratic spirit. Thus Ceylon politics hung on the question whether this island was ripe for representative government or not. Such a question, from the nature of the case, could not be settled with a decisive answer one way or the other. The inevitable outcome was therefore a compromise.

261. THEIR DEMAND

In 1889 the number of unofficials was raised from six to eight, "the two extra seats to be filled according to the queen's pleasure," but the governor was asked to recommend a Kandyan Sinhalese and a Muhammedan for nomination to council. The members of the council hitherto vacated their seats on the accession to office of a new governor. But this practice was abandoned, and members of council were nominated for three years which period was subsequently extended to five. The military expenditure was reduced to £600,000, and the governor was directed to obtain the sanction of council before undertaking any supplementary expenditure. But this measure could not well be carried out without a permanent session of the council, for the need for such expenditure came

262. COUNCIL REFORM

often during recess. Accordingly it was not carried out till Sir Henry Mc Callum appointed a finance committee of the council. The request that some unofficials be appointed to the Executive Council, though recommended by the governor, was refused by the secretary of state.

In 1909 memorials for the reform of the legislative council were sent to the secretary of state, who, however, was not ready to

263. NEW COUNCIL meet all the demands, but decided to enlarge the council and to admit the principle of election in the case of members representing communities "educated on European lines." Accordingly a royal instruction dated November 24th, 1910, reconstituted the council to consist of 21 members, 11 officials and 10 unofficials, four of the latter, namely the European urban member, the European rural, the Burgher member and another to represent the "educated" Ceylonese were to be elected. The six others were to be nominated on the old lines to represent the Kandyan, Muhammedan, Low-country Sinhalese and Tamil (2) interests. The old council was dissolved in 1911 and the reconstructed council met in January, 1912.

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CHAPTER XIII

DEVELOPMENT OF ADMINISTRATION

I. Central Government: 264. Provincial Administration, 265. Government Agents, 266. Headman-System. **II. Local Administration,** 267. Local Govt., 268. Village Councils and Tribunals, 269. Gansabhawa, 270. Village Communities, 271. Their Powers, 272. Village Tribunals, 273. Municipalities, 274. Rise of Municipalities in Ceylon. 275. Colombo, Kandy, Galle, 276. Constitution, 277. Water Works, 278. Drainage, 279. Local Boards, 280. Local Board Towns, 281. Road Committees, 282. Elective Principle. **III. Governors:** 283. George Anderson 1850-1855, 284. Henry Ward 1855-1860, 285. Charles Macarthy 1860-1863, 286. O'Brien 1863-1865, 287. Hercules Robinson 1865-1872, 288. William Gregory 1872-1877, 289. James Longden 1877-1883, 290. Arthur Gordon 1883-1890, 291. Arthur Eavelock 1890-1895, 292. West Ridgeway 1895-1903, 293. Henry Blake 1903-1907, 294. Henry McCallum 1907.

I

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

For purposes of executive government and the collection of revenue, the island was divided in 1834 into five provinces and placed in charge of an official to whom the royal instructions gave the title of "government agent." This division was one merely of convenience, and paid little attention to the natural divisions of the land or to historical or political associations. The Provinces were called after the points of the compass, the Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western and Central Provinces; but as means of communication increased and the country began to be cultivated, the number of provinces was increased by the addition of a North-Western Province, with its capital first at Puttalam and

afterwards at Kurunēgala, and a North-Central Province with the ancient capital of Anuradhapura as centre. The two provinces next constituted were given picturesque Sinhalese names, such as Ūva, with Badulla as the capital, and Sabaragamuwa, with Ratnapura as capital. Thus the island is now divided into nine provinces.

The government agent of the province is a member of the civil service, and just as the government refused to admit unofficials to the Executive Council, so also the government agencies were reserved for the English members of the service. The agents discharged the duties formerly performed by disāwas. They are in charge of the executive government and superintend the collection of revenue, agricultural pursuits, and sale of crown lands. They communicate the orders of government to the people and represent the needs of the people to the government. In short they are in each province what the governor is in the island. Each province is subdivided into districts in charge of assistant government agents. Each district is subdivided into kōralēs and pattus, for the administration of which the government makes use of the ancient headman-system of Ceylon, greatly modified to suit present requirements.

In the time of the Sinhalese kings, the subdivisions of the country were ruled by headmen chosen for their caste and birth, whose work was to collect revenue, enforce the service tenure system and *rājakāriya* and lead the local militia to battle. In return for these services, they received lands which the people cultivated for them.

265. GOVERNMENT AGENTS

266. HEADMAN SYSTEM

They were also the judges of the people and received dues from the litigants and were entitled to recover fines for themselves. The Portuguese and the Dutch modified the system to suit their views, but made great use of the headman-system. The British in their turn continued the system, as it furnished a handy and economical way of conducting the government of the country. The abolition of service-tenure and *rājakāriya* and the establishment of courts of law reduced the work, the perquisites, and the influence of headmen. Accordingly they were made salaried servants of the government, but retained all the dignities and the ancient names of their office. These appointments were generally conferred on men of influence, and in the low-country they were called 'mudaliyars', in the highlands, 'ratemahatmayas', in the Tamil speaking parts 'mudaliyars', 'maniagars', 'udaiyars' and 'vanniyars'. Subordinate to them are minor headmen, unpaid but receiving remuneration for specific services and commissions on collections.

II

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

The administration of the internal affairs of a village, town, city, or other civil division of a state, by its inhabitants themselves, is called local government. The inhabitants organize themselves under the sanction of the state to supply the wants common to the inhabitants and to supervise the performance of services which, without such organization, would have to be done by the state or by private enterprise. In some matters the local government is only an agent of the state. For instance, the police, the care of public health, the

267. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

administration of charity and justice, are matters which concern the state at large. Other matters, such as the supply of water, light and the like, are concerns of the locality, but the state empowers the local government to supply purely local needs with the authority of the state. Thus it is the state that decides the form of local government, its actions and its powers.

Local governments are of various kinds, with more or less authority. The simplest is the village community; the highest form of local government is the municipality. Intermediate between a village and a municipal city are local boards (towns), sanitation boards, and road committees.

In Ceylon there existed from time immemorial a species of local government called the gansabhāwa
268. VILLAGE or village council. It was a
COUNCILS AND patriarchal institution by which
TRIBUNALS the affairs of the village were conducted by the natural leaders of the village or elders. They assembled from time to time under a shady tree or in the village *ambalam*, either to discuss the affairs of common interest and to apportion each man's share of the public works of the village, or to adjudge disputes regarding boundaries, debts, thefts, and petty crime. In the latter case the elders made inquiry, declared which party was guilty and indicated the due restitution or compensation. If a headman took part in the assembly, its decision was binding and a fine could be imposed; otherwise the decision of the gansabhāwa was merely an expression of public opinion, carrying great weight and sometimes followed by a boycott if the accused were contumacious, but without strict binding force. The endeavours of the

gansabhāwa were mostly directed to secure the repair and maintenance of works of common utility and to the amicable settlement of disputes by admonition and exhortation.

In the low-country, these village republics decayed on the advent of foreigners, but in the Kandyan kingdom they flourished up to the rebellion of 1817-1818. After the proclamation of 1818, the gansabhāwas in the Kandyan kingdom ceased to have legal recognition and began to decay. In 1829 Commissioner Colebrooke attended a meeting of a gansabhāwa and was so much impressed by the institution that the charter of 1833 expressly stipulated that disputes may be submitted to "the arbitration of certain assemblies of the inhabitants of villages known as gansabhāwas." But when the police courts and courts of requests were set up in 1843, the gansabhāwa was undermined and fell into desuetude, though the villagers, accustomed to the institution, continued it in the matter of paddy cultivation. In 1849 Major Thomas Skinner urged its revival to check the growing litigation.

But it was only in 1856 and in connection with irrigation work that Sir Henry Ward determined to resuscitate the village council. In olden times the agricultural districts consisted of small republics. Each had a tank for irrigation, and the duty of keeping the tank and its channels in repair devolved on the village, each member being obliged by custom to contribute his labour. After the advent of the British, villagers often left their homes whilst retaining their claim on the fields. Those

269. GANSABHAWA

**270. VILLAGE
COMMUNITIES**

who remained behind were unwilling to work for the benefit of defaulters and the work remained undone, and tanks went to ruin. Accordingly Sir Henry Ward empowered the village community to revive ancient customs touching irrigation by obliging all to co-operate in preserving tanks and in regulating the supply and distribution of water.

In 1871 the gansabhāwa was given power to settle disputes and disorders in the village, to construct and maintain paths, bridges, *ambalams*, spouts, wells, fences, markets, and cemeteries, to construct, repair, and maintain schools, and secure attendance of pupils and to enforce ancient customs regarding village economy. This gansabhāwa or village council was to consist of a committee of landowners over 25 years of age, elected by the male population of the village, to hold office for three years.

**271. THEIR
POWERS**

A village tribunal was also set up to consist of five members under a paid president of village tribunals. It was empowered to try cases of debt, damage, or civil suits below Rs. 100/- and petty cases of theft, assault, and trespass. The chief duty of the tribunal, however, was to bring about an amicable settlement, failing which the tribunal was empowered to arrest and commit to trial. The proceedings were to be in the vernacular and summary, that is free from formalities, and without lawyers. The government agents were given the power of supervision and even of revision of judgments. This institution proved so beneficial that Governor Sir Hercules Robinson once said that he wished for no better epitaph over his grave than that; "He restored village councils in Ceylon."

**272. VILLAGE
TRIBUNALS**

In modern times the administration of the affairs of a large city is a very complex work. It includes all public activities of the city, such as the maintenance of streets, regulating traffic and public order, disposal of waste, protection of life, housing etc. This needs a large staff, much deliberation and large revenues, and the citizens themselves are expected to suggest, resolve, and pay for the work. Accordingly the state by an ordinance gives certain towns a constitution called a Municipality, which is the highest form of local government, because it is the freest from central control. A town with a municipality is generally called a city. It is divided into a number of "wards," and the householders of each ward elect a representative who is called a councillor. The city council or municipality meets to discuss ways and means, and is empowered by law to administer the town.

In 1820 a local assessment on houses and shops and a tax on vehicles were imposed in Colombo for the repair and lighting of the streets. The same was done in Galle in 1824. The sum so collected was very much above the actual needs. In the decade 1820-1829 the collection in Colombo amounted to £6,540 of which £2,140, being in excess of the needs, were lent out on interest to form a fund. This fund in 1830 amounted to £3,166, and the governor appointed a committee to hold it in trust and invest the money. The assessment tax continued, and four-fifths of the amount collected was spent on the repair of roads, etc. and the remaining one-fifth was added to the fund. But Commissioner Colebrooke disapproved of this and recommended the

**274. RISE OF
MUNICIPALITIES
IN CEYLON**

repeal of the regulation and the abolition of the fund. Assessment, he declared, should not exceed the sum required for the repair of the roads and the town police.

Accordingly in 1834 the fund was paid to the treasury. The tax was reduced and levied quarterly and entrusted to a committee of five, two of whom were to be Burghers. This committee was to assess property, but the government agent was to collect the tax and use it for the repair and lighting of roads and the policing of the town. In 1843, when the police department was organized, the town was relieved of the tax for policing. In 1850 the government offered to give self-government to the chief towns, but the measure was rejected. Fifteen years later, in 1865, in the midst of the political agitations of the Ceylon League, an ordinance was passed establishing municipalities. Colombo, Kandy and Galle were soon made municipalities. The constitution of these municipalities remains today practically what it was then, though Colombo meanwhile has developed into a large city with a revenue exceeding three million rupees.

These municipal councils consist of a number of elected councillors and nominated members, not exceeding the number of elected members, and are presided over by a civil servant as chairman. In Colombo the chairman is a wholetime civil servant who is by courtesy called the mayor. In Kandy and Galle, the government agent is the chairman. This chairman has the entire executive power and responsibility, and the various departments of administration are controlled by committees of

**275. COLOMBO,
KANDY, GALLE**

276. CONSTITUTION

councillors. Up to 1887 the council formed a bench of magistrates to try infractions of municipal by-laws, but now there is in Colombo a special municipal magistrate, and in Kandy and Galle the local police magistrate tries municipal cases. The growth of the city of Colombo can be estimated from the rise of its municipal revenue. In 1867 the annual revenue was Rs. 320,000, in 1887 Rs. 400,000, but after the development of the port, revenue rose in 1897 to Rs. 1,120,000 and in 1907 to Rs. 2,553,000. The council has 10 elected members and 9 nominated members. The municipalities of Kandy and Galle have each five elected and four nominated members. The annual revenue of the former in 1905 was Rs. 188,000, of the latter Rs. 110,000.

A storage tank at Labugama and a reservoir at Maligakanda with a single 10-inch pipe was constructed by government to supply water to Colombo, the municipality paying an annuity of Rs. 130,000 for 35 years. But this soon proved insufficient, and in 1899 ten miles of the main were duplicated at a cost of Rs. 723,000, the government and the council sharing the cost. It soon became necessary to duplicate the whole length of pipe and build an additional reservoir at a cost of over two million rupees. The councils of Kandy and Galle likewise obtained assistance from government for their water works.

The problem of the drainage of Colombo became very acute when the harbour was constructed, and an eminent engineer, Mansergh, recommended a water-carriage system for the whole city. The cost of the scheme appeared at first prohibitive, and a modified scheme was adopted and is now being extended at enormous cost.

Intermediate between municipalities and village committees are the Local Boards. Local boards of health were first constituted in each province to take sanitary precautions on the occasion of an outbreak of small-pox in 1853. But they were soon superseded by the establishment of local government in villages and large towns. To provide, therefore, for the maintenance of health, town improvement, and conservancy, an ordinance was passed in 1876 giving such towns as the governor may proclaim a form of local government called the Local Boards. These boards consist of three elected members and three nominated members under the chairmanship of the government agent or his assistant. They are empowered to enact by-laws, levy assessment, and to regulate matters relating to streets, lighting, markets, and other town economies. The funds at the disposal of the local board are moneys and fines imposed under the local boards ordinance, licensing fees from carts, boats, and coaches, rates, commutation tax, duties and payment under certain ordinances, and dues on certificates of lawyers and notaries.

**279. LOCAL
BOARDS**

The major towns of Ceylon, such as Anuradhapura, Bandarawela, Batticaloa, Badulla, Chilaw, Gampola, Hatton, Dickoya, Jaffna, Kalutara, Kegalla, Kurunegala, Matale, Mātara, Moratuwa, Minuangoda, Negombo, Nawalapitiya, Panadure, Puttalam, Ratnapura and Trincomalie, have been constituted into local board towns. Smaller towns of not sufficient importance for local boards, but requiring sanitary measures superior to a village, were also given a modified form of local government without the elective privilege. They are controlled by an institution in each district called the Sanitary Board.

**280. LOCAL BOARD
TOWNS**

Another form of local government, the first to be instituted in the island on an elective basis, is the Road Committee. These were called into existence in 1848 by the thoroughfare ordinance, which enforced six days' labour on the roads or a commutation on all adult males in the island. To carry out the object of the ordinance and to manage rest-houses, two kinds of road committees were established, one in each province and district. The Provincial Committee consisted of three officials and between three and five unofficials appointed by the governor. The District Committee on the other hand consisted of one official and three unofficials appointed by the provincial committee. Each district was divided and placed under a division officer who was elected by the tax-payers of the locality.

**281. ROAD
COMMITTEES**

In 1861 the constitution of these committees was amended by introducing the elective principle into the district committees, the provincial committee remaining as before a nominated body. The election of the three members of the district committee was to be on a racial basis, as they had to be representative of the European, Burgher, and Sinhalese or Tamil inhabitants of the district. In 1884 the chairman of a district committee was empowered to issue warrants against defaulters and to commit them to prison or impose a fine.

**282. ELECTIVE
PRINCIPLE**

The chief business of these committees was the maintenance of the minor roads of the district outside the jurisdiction of municipalities, local boards, and village committees. The major roads were looked after by the central government, first by means of a commissioner of roads and afterwards through the public works department. The rest-houses were controlled by the road committees, which transacted business in the kachcheries. The funds were solely those levied under the thoroughfares ordinance.

III

GOVERNORS

Sir Charles MacCarthy administered the government till the arrival of George Anderson who was designated to replace
283. GEORGE ANDERSON Torrington. The new governor
 1850-1855 arrived from Mauritius where he

had been governor, even before his commission reached the island. He was therefore not installed on his arrival, but was made to await the receipt of the commission, which gave rise to friction between himself and the colonial secretary. Anderson had the unpopular task of reducing the expenditure, which had exceeded the revenue. This led the planters to combine for agitation and to form a Planters' Association which soon became a power in the island and the chief critic of the government for many decades. Anderson had also to carry out the dissociation of government from Buddhism in Kandy. The economies he practised enabled his successor, Sir Henry Ward, to make his administration a memorable one

284. HENRY WARD in Ceylon history. He was a man
 1855-1860 of great energy and physical strength, an experienced parliamentarian who had been British ambassador abroad, a journalist and a statesman in turn. He travelled extensively in Ceylon and made himself acquainted with the needs of the outlying districts to an extraordinary extent. He inaugurated irrigation works, encouraged the planting enterprise, introduced the penny postage, built roads and bridges at a cost of half a million sterling, extended canals, introduced the electric telegraph, and turned the first sod of the Ceylon railway. He was transferred to Madras as governor of that presidency where he died of cholera.

His successor was his former colonial secretary, Sir Charles McCarthy, whose chief preoccupation was

285. **CHARLES MCCARTHY** the railway question. He
1860-1863 annulled the

agreement with the railway company and entrusted the railway construction to a contractor

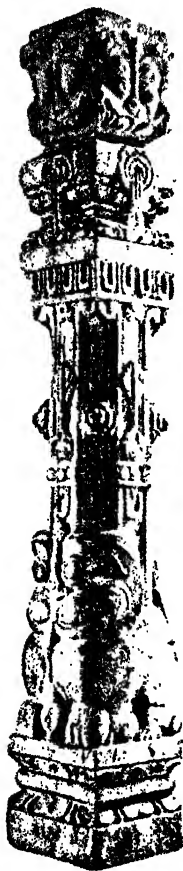
to the great benefit of the country. Ill

health obliged him to relinquish the administration to Major-General O'Brien, to die at Spa in 1864 O'Brien (1863-1865) had to face the violent political agitations of the Ceylon League till the arrival of Sir Hercules Robinson, afterwards Lord

287. **HERCULES ROSMEAD**, who
ROBINSON opened the
1865-1872 railway to

Kandy, set up the municipalities of Colombo, Kandy, and Galle, established the department of public instruction, and the medical school, introduced the decimal coinage of rupees and cents, and promoted literary and

historical research. He successfully opposed the



Medagoda Pillar

cry for legislative reform, but tried to advance the interests of the island in other ways and left the island after a useful career, to be governor of New South Wales.

Though his successor, Sir William Gregory (1872-1877), was warned not to listen to the "mad project" of an artificial harbour for Colombo, he settled the rival claims between Galle and Colombo in favour of the latter and inaugurated the building of the breakwater. In spite of the coffee disease, he had the privilege of ruling the island at a time of unparalleled prosperity. He supported the disestablishment of the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches in Ceylon, built the museum, the governor's house at Nuwara Eliya, constituted the North-Central Province, and endeavoured to promote the study of the history and philology and to preserve the ancient literature of Ceylon. He was an accomplished literary man of large sympathies and was knighted in Ceylon by Edward VII. when he visited the island as Prince of Wales.

Sir James Robert Longden had the task of carrying out the measure of disestablishment and the construction of the breakwater both of which had been settled by his predecessor. In his day the island passed through a sore trial of financial depression owing to the coffee leaf disease, but the governor was very cautious and whilst promoting other agricultural industries he wisely postponed all demands for improvements, which won him the nickname of "Wait-a-bit Jimmy." The wisdom of his policy was realized only afterwards.

288. **WILLIAM
GREGORY**
1872-1877

289. **JAMES
LONGDEN**
1877-1883

Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, afterwards Baron Stanmore, was the son of a prime minister of England. He found a decline in the island's revenues in every branch dependent on agricultural industries, and a deficit of Rs. 333,094. A committee was appointed to effect retrenchment, and the home government reduced the military contribution. The governor's firmness was shown in the masterly way he saved the island from the effects of the failure of the Oriental Banking Corporation on which all the commerce and trade of the island depended. When the bank failed Gordon boldly gave the bank notes the guarantee of his government, and the panic ended. This action appeared risky and precipitate and was not approved by the secretary of state, but it saved Ceylon and the governor earned the gratitude of all. In Mauritius, Fiji and New Zealand, Gordon had shown that he considered the welfare of the poorest and the most helpless of the people entrusted to his care the first concern of a governor. In Ceylon likewise he took a very deep interest in the people and promoted irrigation work, set up an archaeological department and endeavoured to solve the problem of Buddhist temporalities, constituted the provinces of Uva and Sabaragamuwa, and secured the appointment of a Kandyan and a Muhammedan member of the council.

He was succeeded by Sir Arthur Elibank Havelock (1890-1895) who ruled during a time of continuous prosperity and endeavoured to extend the benefits of medical science and education to reach all classes of the population. He

290. **ARTHUR
GORDON**
1883-1890

291. **ARTHUR
HAVELOCK**
1890-1895

secured the repeal of the paddy tax, advocated by George Wall and the Cobden Club, but opposed by many in Ceylon. He established the technical school, built the northern arm of the breakwater, the Victoria bridge and the general post office.

Sir Joseph West Ridgeway (1896-1903) began a progressive policy of railway extension and harbour works and re-organized the technical college and the training college and the medical college, started the scientific departments of the botanical gardens and reorganized the irrigation department. In 1897 he secured the passing of the waste lands ordinance which was much opposed both here and in England. He succeeded in keeping the island free from the bubonic plague that was ravaging the neighbouring continent. Ridgeway was noted for his oratorical powers which he used to good purpose and ruled the island for seven years.

Sir Henry Arthur Blake (1903-1907) is responsible for the formation of agricultural associations, the reform of the police force and the headman-system. In his time the colonial office leased the pearl fishery to a company, in which the former governor, Sir West Ridgeway, was interested, without any reference to the Legislative Council. The local government was not consulted about the terms of the lease, and as Ridgeway, when governor of Ceylon, had caused a scientific examination of the pearl banks to be made at the expense of the government, his connection with the company caused much suspicion. The government, however, looked upon the lease as a way of

**292. WEST RIDGE-
WAY: 1896-1903**

**293. HENRY
BLAKE: 1903-1907**

obtaining a settled revenue in place of the uncertain profits of the past, and carried the measure through in spite of all opposition. Another cause of the unpopularity of his government was the increase of salaries to the civil service. The displeasure was not because the salaries were increased but that the salaries of the locally recruited public servants were not proportionately increased, the government maintaining, not without reason, that the cost of living of Europeans had risen very much more than that of men of the country.

He was succeeded by Sir Henry Edward McCallum (1907) in whose time took place the first reform of the Legislative Council since its inception in 1883, for hitherto the only change was the increase of members. The change effected in the time of McCallum was the introduction of the elective principle on a small scale. Perhaps a greater improvement was the appointment of a finance committee of the council, consisting of all unofficial members, to examine supplementary votes of expenditure. McCallum completed the harbour works and began the reclamation of the Colombo lake, the duplication of the main line of the railway. He also remodelled the agricultural school and agricultural department and procured the appointment of a committee to inquire into higher education in the island. This committee recommended the establishment of a university college to be a half-way house for a future university. McCallum set the fashion of holding durbars of chiefs, a spectacular rather than a useful innovation, which ended with his government.

Uva—An account of the inauguration of the New Province—J. Ferguson. Colombo 1886.

A Holiday Trip to Labugama. Colombo 1891.

CHAPTER XIV

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS

I. **External Communications:** 295. Galle, 296. Its Disadvantages, 297. Colombo, 298. Want of a Harbour, 299. Breakwater, 300. Improvements. II. **Internal Communications:** 301. Roads, 302. Network, 303. Railways, 304. Railway Extensions.

I

EXTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

The port of Galle or Point-de-Galle, as it used to be called in old-time sea charts, was the principal place of call for ships plying between East and West from the days of the Dutch. Even after the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company were transferred to Colombo, Galle remained the chief harbour of Ceylon and it continued to be so in early British times. Galle was conveniently situated for British ships, being almost equidistant from the Australian Colonies, Cape of Good Hope, Aden, Mauritius, and Singapore. It was, moreover, situated at the point where steam navigation between China and Australia branches off. And thus it was natural that all ships should call at Galle for trade and coaling.

Though a large and natural harbour, Galle has many sunken rocks which make the entrance dangerous, and heavy seas break in during the monsoon. Though nature had done much, art had added little. In 1847 it was proposed to remove some of the rocks and in 1852 plans were made to

295. GALLE

296. ITS DISADVANTAGES

build a breakwater from the lighthouse to shelter ships from the monsoon swell. But the importance of the harbour was not so much for this island as for imperial purposes, and the governor suggested that the improvement of the harbour should be effected at the expense of the imperial government. A second plan of a breakwater of 3,000 feet from Watering Point was made and estimated to cost £289,655; but funds were not forthcoming. In 1860 after the wreck of the *P. & O. Malabar*, the Company threatened to give up calling at Galle unless the harbour was improved, and it was proposed to blast the most dangerous rocks.

When the planting industry developed, and Colombo was connected by rail with the planting districts, exports from Colombo steadily increased. But Colombo was little more than an open roadstead. The inner harbour, separated from the outer by a bar, was the resort of small craft. Steam ships had to remain in the outer harbour which was exposed to the fury of the south-west monsoon from May to July and to long-shore winds in December and January. Thus the transport of goods from ship to shore was often interrupted. Fortunately coffee arrived in Colombo from February to April which was the favourable season for loading.

After the opening of the railway, (303) the Planters' Association and the Chamber of Commerce pressed for "better harbour accommodation in Colombo, and engineers examined the question. The secretary of state, however, in 1866, suggested that instead of building an artificial harbour in Colombo it would be better to improve the natural

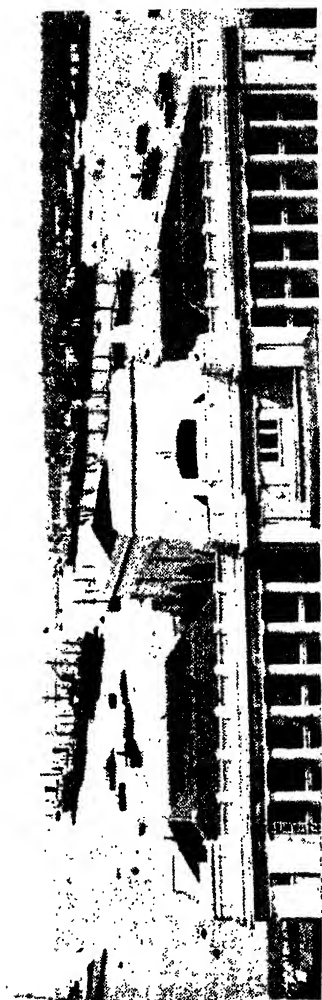
297. COLOMBO

298. WANT OF A HARBOUR

harbour of Galle. But the claims of Colombo were pressed with great effect. It was the political capital of the island, connected by road with all parts of the island, and by rail with the planting districts. Four-fifths of the commerce of Ceylon was centered in the metropolis. The old ramparts of the Fort had been demolished, the moat filled; the opening of the Suez canal deflected the traffic from the Cape route; and Colombo being only thirty miles out of the direct line from Aden to Galle, was more accessible owing to the absence of currents and submerged rocks. Moreover, the importance of Galle was only for imperial purposes and the needs of the colony demanded a harbour and that at Colombo.

In 1870 the P. & O. Company steamers which found great difficulty in coaling at Galle, commenced calling at Colombo for passengers and coal and were soon followed by steamers of other shipping companies. Accordingly in 1871 preparations were made for sheltering the Colombo harbour from the south-west monsoon by a breakwater. Under the direction of Sir John Coode the work was started and Edward VII, when Prince of Wales, laid the foundation in 1875. This long arm of masonry, measuring 4,212 feet, took ten years to build and cost £705,000. The trade of the port, the harbour revenue, and customs increased steadily, and all transport agencies and coal depots were transferred to Colombo, and the fate of Galle was sealed. Thus though in 1861 the number of ships that called at Colombo was only 82 with 90 barks and 131 brigs, in 1883 the total tonnage exceeded three millions, and harbour dues rose from Rs. 600,000 to three million rupees.

**299. BREAK-
WATER**



Colombo Harbour

This phenomenal rise of Colombo as a port of call settled the fate of Galle for good and called for further improvements. In 1894 it was decided to add two more breakwaters so as to form a closed harbour; a northern arm (the north-east breakwater) from Mutwal, 1,100 feet long, and an intermediate breakwater (the north-west breakwater), 2,670 feet long, leaving two entrances of 800 and 700 feet broad. This was constructed and finished in 1906, but did not completely shelter the harbour as was expected, and therefore a sheltering arm, 2,000 feet long, was added to the southwest breakwater and completed in 1912. A graving dock, patent slip, a barge repairing basin, and coaling jetties were soon added.

The total area of the artificial harbour thus formed is a little more than one square mile, making Colombo one of the largest artificial harbours in the world. In point of tonnage it is third in the British Empire and seventh in the world. The importance of Colombo as a harbour had reacted on the city and on the whole island. Ocean liners, passenger and cargo steamers call regularly for passengers, freight, and fuel. The special feature of the port is the rapid discharge and lading of cargo, and it is also noted for its facilities for docking, speed of bunkering, and supply of fresh water.

II

INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

The period 1850-1912 is especially noted for the growth and improvement of rapid means of communication. The development of internal communications began with Sir Edward Barnes (160). The principal object of early roadmaking was a

300. IMPROVEMENTS

301. ROADS

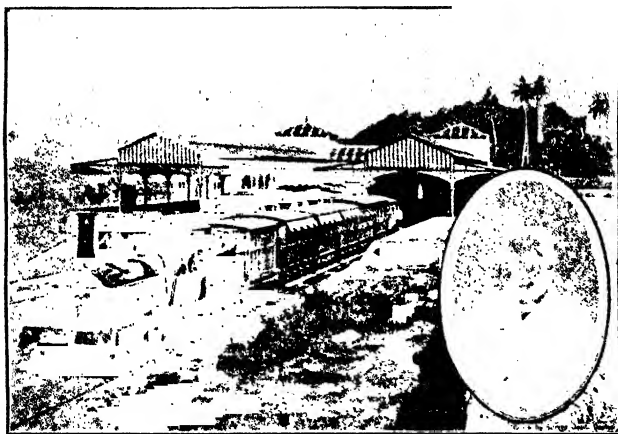
military one. Roads were made to enable the troops to be concentrated rapidly at any point in the interior. When access to the interior was rendered free and easy, the troops formerly stationed in the fever-stricken inland garrisons of the Kandyan country were removed to the salubrious coast towns. But the opening up of the country and the fertility of the soil led to extensive cultivation by British colonists. To bring the produce of the coffee estates to the ports, roads were needed, and from 1859 onwards by far the greater number of the roads and bridges constructed were those required for the planting industry. The department of the civil engineer and commissioner of roads accordingly soon developed into a public works department, and an extensive scheme of road building in the planting districts was carried out.

The coffee crash of 1847 was only a temporary catastrophe, and planting and commerce quickly recovered and yielded rich revenues, enabling the government to complete the task of covering the island with a network of roads and bridges, and to repair canals. Before the nineteenth century was over, the island possessed a splendid system of roads, and all the principal streams were bridged. There were about 4,000 miles of metalled roads, maintained by the public works department, nearly as many, unmetalled, in charge of the district road committees, and as many miles of cart roads and footpaths under the care of village committees.

The need of the planting industry soon became not merely for communications but for speedy communications, and the proposal of a railway to Kandy, mooted before the coffee crash, was resumed as soon as the commercial activities

recovered from the crisis. As the number of estates increased, the planters began to agitate for cheap and rapid transport. Thus under the pressure of planting associations and the chamber of commerce, the country started on a career of railway building.

Railways were a need of the planters, and were it not for the need for rapid transport of estate produce to Colombo, Ceylon would not have thought of railways so soon. The planters therefore undertook to pay duty on coffee to enable the government to give the Ceylon Railway Company the guarantee it was pressing for (209). A provisional agreement was made with the company and an ordinance passed, imposing duties on coffee. But when the work commenced, there was the inevitable



Opening of the C. G. R.

discussion over the best route. Fresh traces were made and examined by engineers and the first estimate was found to have been too hastily made,

for the actual cost was nearly double the estimated one. There was in consequence a great outcry, the planters being the first to oppose the project. Thus though the first sod of the Ceylon railway was turned in August, 1858, with great rejoicings, the Legislative Council in 1860 declared against the contract with the company and called for tenders. The agreement with the company was annulled and after much investigation it was decided to entrust the construction of the railway to a private contractor, W. F. Faviell, for £873,039. The first locomotive engine arrived in 1864, and the Duke of Brabant, afterwards Leopold II. of Belgium, was conveyed by special train to Ambepussa on 27th December of that year. In January, 1866, the first section was opened to traffic, and the whole line to Kandy was opened to passenger traffic in 1867. The Colombo-Kandy railway or the main line, though the first to be opened, was the most difficult to build. It passed over the most picturesque parts of the island. Leaving Colombo in a north-easterly direction, it ran to Polgahawela and reached the foot of the Kandyan hills at Rambukkana. Then began the ascent, winding zig-zag up the steep face of the hills through many a tunnel and under overhanging rocks and on the very edge of a precipice with a perpendicular fall of over a thousand feet, aptly called the Sensation Rock. The Dekanda route, along which the incline runs, was chosen by Molesworth, and the choice has been justified by results for its economy and stability. Faviell personally directed the difficult and dangerous work at the cost of his health and purse. His loss was indemnified by the government in recognition of the indomitable pluck and endurance with which he overcame all difficulties for the benefit of the island.

It was not enough to connect Kandy with Colombo by rail. The coffee estates were spread all over the Kandyan country, and

**304. RAILWAY
EXTENSIONS**

it soon became necessary to think of extensions. Even before the first section of the railway was opened, a branch line to Gampola was contemplated and surveys were actually made. After the usual discussion over the choice of gauges in 1870, it was definitely decided to extend the railway to Nawalapitiya. When that line was building, proposals for extensions along the sea coast and to Uva were put forward. The rise of tea and rubber cultivation in the island increased the need of railways, and the Nawalapitiya extension was opened in 1874, the coast line to Moratuwa in 1877, Kalutara in 1879, Alutgama in 1890, Ambalangoda in 1893, and finally to Galle in 1894 and Matara in 1895. The Nawalapitiya line was opened to Nanuoya in 1885, Haputale in 1893, Bandarawella in 1894. The line from Kandy to Matale was opened in 1880. A narrow-gauge line to Avisawella was constructed in 1900-2, which was extended to Yatiyantota in 1903, and to Ratnapura in 1912.

As the planting enterprise was the chief cause and occasion for railways, the Jaffna peninsula was long left without railway communication with Colombo, and finally after the usual plans and discussion, the work was taken in hand simultaneously from both ends in 1902 and completed in 1905. A narrow-gauge hill railway to Nuwara Eliya and thence to Ragalla was opened in 1904.

The secretary of state, alarmed at the number of railways in hand, disapproved of further extensions till the financial position of the island improved, but

224

in 1907, the prohibition was withdrawn and a railway to Negombo was begun in 1909 to be continued to Puttalam. The main line connects Ceylon with South India by means of a ferry service between Talaimannâr and Dhanuskodi.

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CHAPTER XV

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

I. **Plantations:** 305. Coffee, 306. Ruin, 307. Cinchona, 308. Tea, 309. Rubber, 310. Coconuts. II. **Irrigation:** 311. Neglect of Irrigation, 312. Sir Henry Ward, 313. Irrigation Boards, 314. Irrigation Department, 315. Tissawewa.

I

PLANTATIONS

The material progress of the island was due in great measure to the planting enterprise. It was the capital and energy of the planters that enabled the government to realize large revenues to spend in the improvement of the country. By 1872 the prosperity of the coffee industry had reached its zenith. Prices, undreamt of before, were freely offered and paid for coffee estates. But there arose a little speck in the horizon. On the under side of the leaf was noted a red blot. A few letters on the subject appeared in the papers and it was dismissed as an abnormal phenomenon. But Dr. Thwaites, the director of the Botanical Gardens, was persuaded that it was a very serious disease (*Hemileia Vastatrix*), for which no remedy was known. King coffee was doomed, but the planters did not know it.

New men with capital took to coffee planting and offered high prices for the fungus-stricken estates, but the proprietors were unwilling to sell. Meanwhile the leaf disease became worse and worse, the prices went up higher and higher and

the crops became smaller and smaller. Then came the crash, and ruin overtook many a planter. Those who had grown rich now passed through the ordeal of loss and disaster, and a few realized just enough to start cinchona or tea or rubber cultivation.

Cinchona, the source of the valuable alkaline quinine, was disregarded so long as coffee was profitable.

After the crash, some abandoned coffee estates were planted with cinchona. In 1879 about 400,000 pounds of cinchona bark were exported and in 1880 one million. But overproduction soon reduced the price to the great benefit of the fever stricken but to the loss of the planter. In 1910 only 98,000 pounds were exported from Ceylon.

Those who took to tea planting on the abandoned estates fared much better. The Ceylon tea planter

was able to compete favourably with other tea producers because he had a heritage of cheap and easy transport of railways and harbour facilities which not only enabled him to export tea at less cost but also to import all the requisites for its manufacture and packing. Moreover tea flourished at altitudes considerably higher and considerably lower than that required for coffee, which made the tea area much larger.

Tea was first brought to Ceylon in 1839 and was cultivated in two estates in 1841-2; but though the plant thrived well, the manufacture was difficult and the cost prohibitive. In 1867 Assam tea was planted on 20 acres of land and William Cameron improved both pruning and plucking, whereupon others began to cultivate it. In 1873 there were

only 280 acres of tea, but ten years later in 1883 the acreage in tea rose to 32,000. The failure of coffee made planters rush into tea and by 1893 there were 273,000 acres under tea and in 1903 fifty-eight million rupees worth of tea was exported. Tea had thus come to stay.

The labour force in the tea estates consists mostly of immigrant coolies from South India who come in gangs under kanganies who recruit them in the villages of India. Many of the coolies return home to India with their savings, but some settle down in the island. The coolies are housed and medically treated at the expense of the estates which are now obliged by law to provide for their well-being.

Those who planted rubber in the abandoned coffee estates found they had to wait longer for a return and that there was no great demand for rubber.

309. RUBBER

However Dr. Trimen of Peradeniya recommended rubber. Rubber trees grow naturally in the forests of the Amazon Valley of Africa and other tropical climates. In Ceylon, rubber was introduced by the government botanical department. Three kinds of plants are cultivated: Cehe Caera (*Manihot Glazivi*), a Brazilian species, which was the first tried in Ceylon, but which does not yield enough for profitable cultivation; the Panama or Nicaragua plant (*Carlilloa Elastica*); Para (*Hevea Brasiliensis*), of the Amazon Valley which is best suited to the climate of Ceylon and is the one most extensively cultivated.

In 1898 there were only 750 acres planted with rubber, in 1901 it rose to 2,500 and continued to increase. In 1904 there were 11,000 which rose to

25,000 in 1905, 103,000 in 1906, and in 1908 over 176,000. In 1910 the island exported about twenty million rupees worth of rubber. The increasing use of rubber on account of the rising motor industry and electricity, raised the demand and the prices, and rubber continued to be extensively cultivated.

Coffee, tea, and rubber were generally an enterprise of speculative investors, but the coconut is one of the staples of Ceylon agriculture and the favourite investment of the Ceylonese. It can be turned to a hundred uses, and it is certainly the most reliable wealth producer the agricultural world knows. Though not indigenous to Ceylon, it grows luxuriantly in the coast regions of the south and the west. At the beginning of the British period, the coconut was cultivated from Chilaw to Dondra Head, and it was only in the forties of the nineteenth century that it began to be systematically cultivated in Jaffna and Batticaloa. When European capital was invested in coffee, many Ceylonese invested their savings in coconuts especially in the Chilaw and Puttalam districts.

II

IRRIGATION

For the first fifty years of British rule little was done to restore the irrigation works of the island, though a paddy tax was levied.

311. NEGLECT OF IRRIGATION The proposals of Sir Alexander Johnston and Thomas Maitland remained in abeyance, and the ancient works, built for the collection and distribution of water, were all in ruins. The most remarkable of these are the spacious tanks excavated in the plains, and the dams

constructed across the beds of rivers or over ravines and valleys connecting small hills, and forming extensive lakes for flooding the plains in the driest season. Such ancient works are found in the district of Tangalla and in the deserted provinces to the northward and eastward. The lakes of Kantalai and Minery, each of which covers an area of several square miles, are situated in the plains extending from Trincomalie to Anuradhapura and from there across to Mannār and Aripo, in which district a reservoir called the Giant's Tank was formed and a stone dyke was constructed across the river to divert the current into it. These works are very ancient. From authentic records Minery appears to have been constructed before the Christian era, but they were allowed to fall into decay, and even a general survey of irrigation tanks suggested in 1847 was not carried out.

It was only in 1855, when Sir Henry Ward toured the island and was impressed by the need of prompt action, that the government began to exert itself for irrigation. An ordinance was framed with a view especially to perpetuate the communal customs connected with irrigation, and a special staff was employed to repair and maintain irrigation works. The stretch of land between Batticaloa and Kalamunai and Akarai Pattu was turned into an extensive range of paddy fields. Between 1855 and 1878, irrigation works were carried out in the Eastern and Southern Provinces, notably at Kekandure, Hali-Ela, Ellawala, Udukiiriwila, Tissamaharama, and Dandeniya. But on the completion of the Mātara works, 1880-1881, the depression of the island's finances owing to the coffee leaf

**312. SIR HENRY
WARD**

disease led the government to cease its irrigation activities, and only the village tanks of districts with a settled population were attended to.

Sir Hercules Robinson passed his famous paddy cultivation ordinances, and Sir William Gregory and James Longden devoted Rs. 3,030,891 for the decade 1872-1883, but it was left to Sir Arthur Gordon to develop the irrigation system of the island. In six years he caused 42 tanks and 164 sluices to be repaired at a cost of 3 million rupees. In 1887 he constituted irrigation boards in each province with a central board at Colombo of which he himself was president, and set aside a quarter of the grain-tax for irrigation works.

The object of these boards was to ensure continuity in the irrigation policy which had hitherto depended on the personal inclinations of the governors. But unfortunately the boards were no more permanent than the governors. The constant changes and transfers of the revenue officers and engineers who composed the boards, destroyed any possibility of continuity of policy or sense of responsibility. Thus, though on the abolition of the paddy tax in 1892 a sum of Rs. 200,000 was annually voted for irrigation, the work accomplished was so meagre that a good part of the money remained unexpended.

In 1900 Sir Joseph West Ridgeway established an irrigation department, and as he ruled the country at a time of prosperity, he decided to devote a sum of five million rupees to irrigation. Accordingly a new irrigation ordinance was passed in

313. IRRIGATION BOARDS

314. IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT

1901, and the provincial boards were abolished. Eighteen principal irrigation works were taken in hand and carried out. Some of the greatest undertakings were Kantalai and Tissa, Rugam and Sagamam schemes in the Eastern Province, the Walawe Channel in the Southern, Vakaneri, Kazachchi in the Northern Province, Nachchaduwa in the North-Central, Unichchai in the Eastern Province.

The great Tissawewa scheme affords an example of the way in which irrigation attracts population.

This tank was first brought to prominence by Ward in his famous minute of 1858 in which he described it as one of the noblest monuments of ancient enterprise and science that he had seen. It had formerly irrigated the whole country for the eight miles between the dagoba and the sea, and the original tank is supposed to have contained 4,000 acres. Even after the lapse of 2,000 years, Ward found the bund, 1,400 yards in length, in a very fair state of preservation. There were many traces to show that the district had once been the scene of a thriving cultivation, but in the course of time the dam across the Kirinde river had disappeared, and the large tract of country had relapsed from a flourishing and populous condition into one of solitude and sterility. After the restoration, the influx of population was most significant. Between 1881 and 1891 it more than doubled, and the demand for land increased so much that a work which was at first considered unpromising has become one of the most successful irrigation projects in the island.

In 1906 the central board of irrigation was abolished, and the irrigation department was raised to the same level as other departments and placed directly under the governor. The expenditure on irrigation is submitted to the legislative council for discussion each year. The work of the irrigation department is chiefly to maintain and repair the channels. All the ancient channels had been constructed either to lead a supply of water from a river to some of the large tanks, or to convey the water from these storage basins to the fields for distribution. Some of these channels are of considerable length, the longest being the "Yoda Ela" under Kalawewa which is $54\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length.

The largest tank is Minneri in the North-Central Province with a top water area of over 4,500 acres. Next in order comes the Giant's Tank in the Northern Province and Kalawewa in the North-Central, with 4,425 acres each. Kantalai in the Eastern, has an area of 3,486 acres. The number of smaller village works is very great, for instance the number of restored village tanks in the North-Western and North-Central Provinces alone is respectively 1,300 and 1,600.

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CHAPTER XVI

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

I. Education: 316. Neglect of Education, 317. Missionary Schools, 318. Committee of Inquiry, 319. Public Instruction, 320. Neglect of Vernaculars, 321. English System, 322. Effects of Policy, 323. Increase of Schools, 324. University Education, 325. University, 326. Buddhist Schools, 327. Nationalism. **II. Archaeology and History:** 328. Antiquities, 329. Epigraphy, 330. Literature. **III. Religion:** 331. Buddhist Temporalities, 332. Difficulties, 333. The Buddhist Revival, 334. Failure of the Measure, 335. Another Attempt, 336. Failure, 337. Government and Protestant Churches, 338. Disestablishment, 339. Anglican Church, 340. Catholic Church.

I

EDUCATION

While the country was making rapid strides in material progress, education received very little attention from the state. **316. NEGLECT OF EDUCATION** Educational work was done mostly by Protestant missionary bodies whose schools were so well organized that when the government was made to realize its duty, it resorted to the expedient of aiding the missionary bodies by grants. Though this was an easy and economical method, it involved a most unsafe principle. The British government had made English the language of the courts, of the legislature, and of administration. Trade and commerce, being in the hands of English colonists and merchants, required a knowledge of English. On Colebrooke's recommendation, a knowledge of English was required from candidates for superior headmanships. But no provision was made to give the people at large an opportunity

of acquiring a knowledge of that language. Thus, the bulk of the people of Ceylon, the Sinhalese, Tamils, and Muslims were as good as shut out from any participation in the public life of their country. The Burghers and those who professed Protestant Christianity, were alone privileged. The state-aided Protestant schools gave them an advantage grossly out of proportion with their numbers, while the Buddhists, Hindus, Catholics, who were the largest Christian body, and Muslims were debarred from the learned professions, from public office and influence.

This state of affairs was due to the apathy of the government and the constitution of the central school commission. This

**317. MISSIONARY
SCHOOLS**

commission, appointed in 1841, supervised education in Ceylon and controlled the distribution of the public funds voted for education. It gave grants freely to missionary schools and schools conducted by the Episcopal clergy; to others only on condition that religious instruction in Protestant Christianity was imparted in the schools. For "the government of Ceylon, taking a view of its duty different from that adopted by the rulers of the continent of India, as soon as it was awakened to a sense of the obligations under which it lay, to educate its subjects, determined that the education which it offered them, should be essentially Christian in character, and accordingly enacted as a fundamental rule to be followed in all schools supported by it, that one hour in the day should be devoted to religious instruction." There was a conscience clause, but it was a dead letter, as the principal of the chief government school, the Academy, has left recorded that, though

there were pupils of all races and creeds, only two cases occurred in twelve years of parents objecting to religious instruction and that in both cases they were persuaded to withdraw their objection. In 1861 there were only nine English schools in the island with 276 pupils of whom 233 were Protestants, 220 Catholics, 192 Buddhists and 26 Muslims. The education vote for the year was £10,648. The Colombo Academy was the chief school. It had a lower and an upper school and a higher department called Queen's College affiliated to the Calcutta University and attended by six students, mostly Burghers, who cost the government £800 a year.

This educational policy of the government caused grave dissatisfaction and was vigorously criticised by many and especially by Father Bonjean, a Catholic priest who afterwards became Archbishop of Colombo. Accordingly in 1865 the Legislative Council appointed a sub-committee under the chairmanship of Richard F. Morgan, an old boy of the Academy, to inquire into the system of education. After an exhaustive inquiry, the Committee proposed the abolition of the school commission and the establishment of a department; the abolition of religious instruction as a condition of grant, the abolition of Queen's College and the establishment of a university scholarship to enable promising students to receive university education in England and finally the establishment of a training school for teachers. All these proposals were accepted by the Legislative Council. It, however, discussed the question whether the head of the department should not be given a consultative board. The unpopularity

**318. COMMITTEE
OF INQUIRY**

on the school commission militated against this excellent suggestion and a department was established under a director responsible to the governor only.

Thus was established in 1869 the department of public instruction which has come down to our day with only a change of name.

319. PUBLIC

INSTRUCTION

This department was to superintend the government schools and distribute the government grant on the ascertained results of secular instruction, as if a school deserved no grant if it did not show good examination results. The stipulation for religious instruction was done away with, and the different religious denominations were left free in the matter of religion. The great fault in this system was that the people of the country had no voice in their education.

They were to be educated on the lines chosen by a director who was not required to know the vernaculars nor to have any familiarity or acquaintance with the people or any sympathy with their aspirations. His own children were in no way affected by his policy or by the rules and regulations he was to draw up and enforce. Thus the education of the Ceylonese was conducted according to the personal ideas of a public official without any reference to those whose children he was to educate. This system lasted from 1869 to 1896, when the government found itself obliged to appoint a board of education.

But meanwhile education proceeded on unsatisfactory lines. First of all, English was made

320. NEGLECT OF VERNACULARS

the medium of instruction in English schools for Ceylonese children. Pupils of English schools were not required to know anything of their mother

tongue or to have any acquaintance with their country's history or geography. Vernaculars were relegated to the background as something unworthy of those who were to possess a knowledge of English. English education became the hallmark of gentility; it alone was considered secondary education and very few of those who were educated in English schools had any knowledge of vernacular grammar or literature.

Secondly it led to the introduction of the English system of education. Books prepared for English children were read in local schools. English schools were run mostly by persons unacquainted with the vernaculars, who introduced British methods, British examinations, the Oxford and Cambridge locals, and afterwards the London examinations, as the best in their eyes for Ceylon boys who were to be shoddy imitations of Tom Brown.

Thirdly this system made education synonymous with a knowledge of English and denationalized the English educated classes of the island. A system of education without a knowledge of the mother tongue and severed from historical associations of the people led to results as unexpected by the government as by the people. The Ceylonese imbibed English political ideas and soon elbowed out the European colonists from the political fields and demanded a form of government consistent with their self-respect. But the system of education under which they were reared enabled the government to contend that the demand was a demand of a minority, out of touch with the great mass of their

**321. ENGLISH
SYSTEM**

**322. EFFECTS OF
POLICY**

countrymen. Thus the demand for political reform and the refusal were both the outcome of a misguided policy.

The department of public instruction however did great good in other respects. First of all the number of schools increased by leaps and bounds. At the inception of the department there were 64 government schools, but the number increased quinquennially to 243, 431, 440, 468, 474. Aided schools likewise increased from 21 to 594 in the first fifteen years, and then 814, 938, 1,042, 1,172. Moreover education was taken out of the hands of Protestant clergymen and directed by lay inspectors of schools, controlled by a director who tried to do his best according to his lights and at least introduced improved methods of instruction and equipment and eventually brought about the establishment of technical, industrial, agricultural and training schools.

The absence of a training school for teachers had been the chief drawback, and the committee of 1868 greatly recommended the new department to establish one. A normal school was begun, but the department neglected the establishment of a training college till 1902. This college has now done much to improve the methods of teaching and its example had led to the improvement of teachers' salaries.

On the recommendation of the committee of inquiry, the government abolished the Queen's College, changed the Academy into a Royal College, and awarded a University scholarship to enable the most promising student of the College

**323. INCREASE
OF SCHOOLS**

**324. UNIVERSITY
EDUCATION**

to obtain a university education in England. But the missionary schools, run on the same lines as the Royal College and at very much lower cost to the taxpayer, demanded the right to present their students as candidates for this scholarship. Accordingly it was thrown open to competition in 1880 and awarded on the results of the Cambridge local examination. In 1895 the standard was raised and the scholarship awarded on the results of an examination by the Oxford and Cambridge joint board. In 1905 two scholarships were awarded on the results of the London Intermediate in arts and sciences.

These scholarships tended to raise the level of studies. Above all, they annually enabled some Ceylonese to receive a university education abroad. A very large number of public men, now in the forefront of public affairs, have been educated in this way at the expense of the government. But it had also the unfortunate effect of postponing the idea of a Ceylon university for a great length of time.

A wide feeling existed that the needs of Ceylon in respect to education were inadequately met by the existing system, and that

325. UNIVERSITY

education would not prosper till a university was founded. Perhaps the strongest argument was the facility which a university gives for the supply of qualified teachers. Accordingly in 1911 the government appointed a committee to inquire into the question of secondary and higher education in Ceylon. An inspector from the London board of education was invited to assist in the deliberations of this committee, which finally recommended the

establishment of a university college as a half-way house. The college was to prepare students for the external examinations of the London university. The usual government scholarships were to be turned into scholarships to the university college and the university scholarship was to be awarded for a post graduate course in Europe to students from the local university college.

Not all schools were satisfied with the change of policy introduced by the department on the recommendation of the committee of inquiry. Most missionary schools in Ceylon were set up by religious bodies not so much to educate those of their persuasion as to spread their sect by making converts. A commission of inquiry stated that the Catholics were the only considerable body of Christians who provided schools to educate those of their own faith. The others were avowedly proselytizing schools, and some of them actually refused to adopt the denominational system inaugurated by the department and preferred to forego the state aid rather than submit to the conscience clause. This spirit was most detrimental to the Buddhist and Hindu inhabitants of the island. They were forced to forego English education or give up their faith or start schools of their own. There was no Buddhist or Hindu organization to undertake the task of starting schools. For centuries they had been deprived of educational facilities by the Portuguese or forcibly baptized by the Dutch, and now when they were at last enjoying liberty of conscience, they found themselves outstripped in the race by Christians, though they were taxpayers also. * As English education had

**326. BUDDHIST
SCHOOLS**

become necessary for influence in Ceylon, it came about, that just as vernacular education fell into disrepute, so the profession of Buddhism was looked upon as a sign of inferiority. For a long time the Buddhists were slow to remedy this state of affairs. But when an American Theosophist came to Ceylon and by public meetings and lectures and addresses and financial assistance roused the Buddhists to resist the invasion of their faith, a Buddhist Theosophical Society was started, chiefly with the object of opening schools. The activities soon redoubled and within ten years the Society had 63 schools beside 4 others conducted by priests or wealthy laymen.

These Buddhist activities under the circumstances became professedly hostile to Christianity and western influence

327. NATIONALISM as a reaction. Conscious of a real grievance and smarting under a sense of wrong of which they looked upon the Christian clergy and Europeans in general as the occasion, if not the cause, their resentment expressed itself in word and deed. Under this influence, the Buddhist revival showed itself in the light of a revival of nationalism rather than of religion. It made the people take pride in their language, customs, dress, and history. This spirit soon passed beyond the Buddhist pale and aroused the dormant national feelings of Ceylonese of all faiths. Those who had hitherto been far too much influenced by the European clergy began to express themselves without reserve. Finally it took a political turn and strengthened the hands of the political leaders of the country and produced the reaction already noticed. The dress reform effected by this reawakening shows that even in this kind of

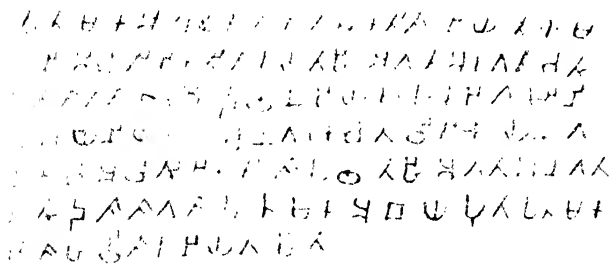
reaction sober counsels are bound to prevail in the long run. Ceylonese ladies now revert to the picturesque and modest eastern dress and discard the European fashion, which they once affected. But men who adopted European dress still retain it in spite of several attempts to stem the tide, because it is far more convenient and better adapted to modern requirements. Thus though national feelings are at first extravagant and go to extremes, they are bound in the long run to be sobered by the mellowing influence of experience and wisdom. Accordingly it will not be considered a hasty utterance if one ventures to think that the hostility to Christianity and western influence is only a passing phase of nationalism and is bound to die out, retaining all that is good in national customs and adopting all that is reasonable from others, which is the usual course of events in all countries and nations.

II

ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

George Turnour's edition and translation of the *Mahavansa* attracted the attention of European orientalists and philologists to the Pali language and to the chronicles and inscriptions of Ceylon. A Danish professor, C. Fausboll, edited Pali works in 1885 and the French consul of Colombo, M. Grimbolt, made a collection of manuscripts which were studied in France by eminent scholars in 1886. Commenting on a French publication, the *Saturday Review* remarked that "though Ceylon has been an English colony, hardly anything has been done by the English government to collect these interesting relics of ancient literature,

to deposit them in our public libraries, and thus to render them accessible to oriental scholars: while the French government, nay it would seem an individual French gentleman, has during the last six years accomplished all that could be desired." Stung by such reproaches and seeing an archaeological survey started in India, Sir Hercules Robinson commissioned James de Alwis to compile a catalogue of Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhalese literary works of Ceylon (1870). In 1871 the government procured a series of photographs of the principal ruins of Anuradhapura



Tonigala Inscription

and Polonnaruwa. In 1873 Sir William Gregory directed an archaeological survey to be started on a modest scale, and in 1877 detailed plans and drawings of the important ruins were made by Smithers. A German professor, P. Goldschmidt, was meanwhile invited to collect the ancient inscriptions, and he visited Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Mihintale, but died of fever while engaging in inspecting the Kiripde, Tissamaharama and Kataragama inscriptions. The secretary of state thereupon sent Dr. E. Muller in 1887 to complete the task, and the first edition of the *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon* was issued in 1881.

The government agent of Anuradhāpura was soon directed to commence explorations and excavations in the North-Central Province, and in 1890 a systematic archaeological survey has begun under Mr. H. C. P. Bell of the civil service. Work was begun in the Three and Four Kōralēs and afterwards extended to other fields. Mr. Bell laboured long and zealously in his chosen field of study and procured the establishment of an archaeological department and the publication of lithic and other inscriptions in a collected form in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*.

The government also promoted the publication and translation of literary and historical works. The *Mahavansa* was for the first time translated into Sinhalese by Sri Sumangala and Pundit Batuwantudawa in 1877, and two years later Mudaliyar L. C. Wijeyesinha translated the *Suluwansa* or the more recent part of the *Mahavansa* into English, and the government published a complete translation of the great chronicle of Ceylon. Another island chronicle, the *Dipavansa*, was edited and translated by Oldenberg in 1879, and the Ceylon government engaged the services of another German professor, W. Geiger, to re-edit the *Mahavansa*, the first part of which was brought out by the Pali Text Society in 1908. Geiger is now engaged in preparing the *Suluwansa* for publication.

III

RELIGION

When the government of Ceylon on orders from England in 1846 withdrew from active connection with the Buddhist religion in the Kandyan country, it made the great mistake of not giving the Buddhists a legal constitution as contemplated by

331. BUDDHIST TEMPORALITIES

Gladstone in 1846. The reason for the omission was that the government believed there would be no difficulty to set up an independent, honest, and efficient organization to administer the rich temporalities of the vihāras and dēwālēs. When the government set about the task, it found itself faced with a serious difficulty in devising an effective constitution to take the place of the royal arm of a Buddhist king whose power was unlimited, but in whose interest it was to please the *sangha*. The *sangha* unfortunately had no organized system, no tradition or experience in methods of administering temporalities, for the very good reason that such occupations were foreign to the *sangha*. The king caused the temporalities to be administered, just as it was he who caused the temples to be endowed. When his strong arm was removed, the Kandyan headmen profited by the opportunity to add to their power and influence by interfering with temple properties and by slackness in enforcing services for the temple. The Buddhist public meanwhile left the matter to government and made no move, and the spoliation of temple properties went on apace. Movable and immovable properties of the temples were turned to private use, and annual revenues were scandalously wasted.

The proposals made by the government were either disallowed by the queen as opposed to state policy, or distasteful to priests
332. DIFFICULTIES or the chiefs or to both. The first attempt was an ordinance, passed in 1847, appointing a central board. This was disallowed because the board, such as the ordinance proposed, would be an independent power in the state, detrimental both to the state and to

the Buddhist religion. In 1849 Torrington made another proposal which failed to obtain approval. In 1856 all temple properties were required to be registered and a commission was appointed, but its report was not carried out. In 1877 another ordinance was drafted to vest the administration of Buddhist temporalities in three commissioners with power to sell and lease properties and to provide for the maintenance of incumbents and the repair and upkeep of vihāras and dēwāles and the due performance of religious ceremonies, the balance to be spent for the benefit of Buddhist education. The secretary of state objected to the main provision, namely of giving so much power to commissioners, and to the arbitrary transfer of temple endowments to education. Governor Longden agreed with this view and proposed that the government should confine itself to the establishment of an organization and the passing of such legislative acts as would enable the Buddhists themselves to check the evils.

This measure, however, was held up for some time in the hope that the revival of Buddhism which had then commenced under foreign influence (326) and was active in other directions would correct the gross abuse of temporalities. The government was also chary of dealing alike with the Buddhist endowments not only of the Kandyan country, where the government had an obligation, but also of the low-country, where the government interference would perhaps be resented. Much as the revival did in the low-country, it had little effect in the highlands and still less in checking the spoliation. Eventually the government, finding no response from the Buddhist revival, passed an

333. THE BUDDHIST REVIVAL

ordinance in 1889 transferring the temple properties from the custody of the priests, who were alleged to be mismanaging them, to elected trustees, to be controlled by elected committees in districts and provinces, and subject to strict audit under judicial authority. This step was not approved by the priests nor by those who desired more effective control. The idea of using the temple revenues for Buddhist education was abandoned as too arbitrary.

But this measure was not effective, and many provisions of the ordinance remained a dead letter.

334. FAILURE OF THE MEASURE Dr. Bawles Daly, a Buddhist, was appointed commissioner to inquire into and report on the working of the ordinance, and he submitted a most scathing, though discursive, report condemning the criminal neglect of both the clergy and laity. The abuses were so great in the central Provinces that a special commissioner was appointed, and on his report an ordinance was drafted to improve the machinery of administration. But prominent Buddhists declared that it would be of no use unless a government official was appointed. Such an appointment was, however, opposed to state policy as laid down by the secretary of state who wished to give the Buddhist religion self-government in the matter of temporalities.

The flagrant acts of spoliation soon induced the home government to depart from the policy, and a

335. ANOTHER ATTEMPT • bill was prepared to give the government agents and their assistants the right and duty to supervise the management of Buddhist temporalities. This was • opposed on various grounds. The European member of council vehemently denounced

it as placing public servants in an embarrassing position. Indeed a civil servant once made it a matter of conscience and resigned his post rather than be forced to be a party to an act of the Buddhist religion. It was also opposed by the Mahanāyakas of Kandy who even petitioned the king of England. But in spite of all opposition, the measure was passed, as the governor was determined that the evil should cease.

But the management of the laity was worse than that of the priests, who had at least some right to the property. The priests were the foremost in condemning the flagrant malpractices of the trustees. The laity, on the other hand, expected the government to establish a *katikāvata* for the maintenance of religious discipline. Thus Buddhist public opinion, both clerical and lay, wanted a government official to administer the temporalities and was not satisfied with any measure of self-government offered to them. But a government cannot effect a reform. It can only give a legal constitution, and unless and until the Buddhist public rise to the occasion, the flagrant evil of the spoliation of temporalities will go on.

The ecclesiastical establishment of Ceylon consisted of the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, and the Dutch Presbyterian Church. The ministers of all three churches were paid by the state, the annual ecclesiastical expenditure being about £10,000. In 1842 a bill was passed providing for a church in Kandy under the direction of trustees, partly elected and partly nominated by the governor,

336. FAILURE

337. GOVERNMENT AND THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

as the government paid part of the cost. In 1844-5 the governor with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council authorized the issue from the public treasury of sums to be applied in aid of building places of Protestant worship and of the maintenance of ministers. The amount so paid was not to exceed £4,000 for buildings and another £4,000 for stipends, over and above the fixed establishment. By virtue of this ordinance, a Presbyterian church was built in Kandy in 1845. The temporal affairs of the Episcopalian church were provided with a legal constitution in 1846, and non-Episcopalian in 1864.

But soon there began an agitation for the disestablishment of the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, and the Dutch Presbyterian churches, to which belonged only a very small minority of the inhabitants of the island. It seemed impolitic, not to say unfair, that while the government dissociated itself from the Buddhist religion, and ignored the Hindu and Roman Catholic and Muhammedan religions, it should continue to pay the stipends to a section of the Christians. A resolution for disestablishment was introduced in council but lost. Thereupon in 1877 a large number of petitions were addressed to the home government, praying for disestablishment. Meetings were held in London for the abolition of the ecclesiastical vote and in the face of the most influential community in Ceylon and in England, Sir William Gregory declared for disestablishment. Accordingly Earl Kimberly sent a despatch ordering the disestablishment of the churches.

338. DISESTABLISHMENT

An ordinance was thereupon passed enacting that all salaries and allowances to the bishop and other ecclesiastical persons and chaplains in the Church of England and to the chaplains of the Presbyterian churches should be paid during the term of office of the actual holders and that no further appointments be made after July 1885. Before that date the government transferred all right and interest in the churches to trustees and gave the Anglican Church in Ceylon authorization to hold synods. This ordinance, amended by another of 1892, now regulates the affairs of the Church of England in Ceylon.

**339. ANGLICAN
CHURCH**

The Catholic Church in Ceylon was composed of the three dioceses of Colombo, Jaffna and Kandy, but in 1893 the Pope rearranged the dioceses and divided the island into five bishoprics of Colombo, Jaffna, Kandy, Galle and Trincomalie. These divisions, being ecclesiastical acts, had no legal sanction, and thus it happened that the Bishop of Galle had no legal redress against an aggressor who seized some ecclesiastical property which belonged to the diocese of Galle and was administered by his predecessor. Accordingly the bench of bishops appealed to the Legislative Council which passed an enactment empowering the Catholic bishops to possess and administer the temporalities belonging to their sees.

**340. CATHOLIC
CHURCH**

Government Schools in Ceylon, 1798-1832—L. J. Gratiaen. A Few Words on Catholic Education in Ceylon By Father Christopher Bonjean, O.M.I. 1860. Historical Survey of Ceylon Government's Connection with Education—D. J. B. Kuruppu—Col. 1923. National Education in the East in General and in Ceylon in Particular—Barecroft Boake—1885. Life of Sir Richard Morgan—W. Digby—1879. Eleven Years in Ceylon—By Major Forbes. 1841.

GLOSSARY AND INDEX

(The numbers refer to sections.)

A

- Academy, The Colombo, 200, 317
- Accommodessants: A Dutch term (from Port. *Comedia*, Sin. *badawedilla*, 'stomach support') Land granted to a person for office held under government or for services, 76
- Adigar, 'Chief Officer of State under the Kings of Kandy': two in number, the First Adigar (Pallegampahe, so called from the 5 villages of Katupelle people under him) and the Second Adigar (Udagampahe)
- Agnew, Maj. Patrick, 19, 32, 47, 48, 57
- Agriculture, 168-177, 207-210; Development of, 306-310
- Alukkāla*, a-half Dutch chally q.v., 180
- Alwis James d', 206, 255, 328
- Ambalam*, a country resthouse or halting place, 268
- Anderson, Sir G. Gr., 225, 283
- Andrew, Friar, i
- Andrews, Robert, ambassador to Kandy (1795) 28, 30, 47, 48
57: (1796) 43, 45; Supdt. of Revenue, 38, 58
- Ann, The*, 3, 5
- Antiquities, 328
- Antonio, Dr. Cajetano, 201
- Appasamy, 62
- Arrack-tax, 41
- Arrauwawala Adigar, 28
- Aspanti Nilame, 81
- Aumildar* (Per. *almadār*) 'farmer of revenue under the Madras system'
- Ayasamy, 62

B

- Baillie, Col., 83
- Barbut, Cap. Burton Gage, 24, 25, 85
- Barnes, Sir Edward, Lt-Gov. (1820-1822); Gr. (1824-1831); 159-163, 170-189, 301

- Barnsley, Corporal, 87
 Batticaloa, capture, 24; attached to Trinco., 38.
 Batuwantudawa, Pandit, 330
 Bazaar-tax, 106
 Bell, H. C. P., 329
 Bertolacci, Anthony, 167
 Bird, Capt. H., 170
 Bird, G. H., 196
 Bisset, Rev. G., 173
 Blake, Sir H. Gr. (1903-1907), 293
 Bonjean, Dr. Christopher, 318
 Bonneveaux, Peter, 27
 Botanical Gardens, 58, 111
 Boyd, Hugh, 12-14
 Boyd, William, 110
 Bowser, Capt., 24
 Braybrooke, Col., 223
 British Aims in Ceylon, 19, 64, 123; Attempts on Ceylon, 8-16;
 Captives, 6; Civil disturbances, 46-49; Colonists, 247-249;
 Crown Colony Govt., 73-78, 242; Early visits, 1; East India
 Co., 5; Govt. of Ceylon, 36-42; end of Co. Govt. 50-51;
 Embassy to Kandy (1672) 8-10; (1782) 12-14; (1795) 28-29;
 (1796) 44-45; (1803) 64-66; Expeditions to K. (1803) 81-88;
 (1815) 126-129. Proposed expdt. (1804) 89; Governors, 37,
 211-213, 283-294
 British Settlements on Ceylon—Administration, 36-42; change,
 50-51, 55-60; Crown Colony. 73-78, 55-60, 242; Revenues,
 38-42. See also Maritime Provinces
 Brownrigg, Robert, Gr. (1812-1822) 111-158, 159
 Buddhasamy, 62
 Buddhist, Eccl. Affairs, 203; Revival, 333; Schools, 176, 200,
 326; Seminary, 204; Temporalities, 204, 331-336
 Burghers, 260, 275, 282, 316; Newspaper, 199

C

- Campbell, J., Lt. Gr. (1823) 159
 Campbell, Sir Colin Gr. (1841-1847) 212
 Capper, John, 255
 Carrington, E. C., 59, 75

- 'Cash' the eightieth part of a fanam. Same as chally, 180
- Catholic, Eccl. Affairs, 201, 340; Liberty of Consc., 37, 98; Schools, 176, 200
- Ceylon, Administration of, 264-282; Crown Colony Govt., 55-60; 73-78; 242; Civil Service, 74, 212; Constitution of, 188-196, 238-248; Eccl. Organiz. 202-204; Governors, 211-213, 283-294; Headman-system, 268; Political Agitations, 249-263; Provinces, 264; Reforms, 245; Revenues, 185
- Ceylon League, 256-259
- Chally=salli÷kasi='cash'; Dutch duit, afterwards a quarter cent
- Chandragotte Unnanse, 218
- Chapman, Dr. 202
- Chetties, 193
- Chitty, S. C., 206
- Charter, (1800) 75; (1810) 103; (1811) 104; (1833) 195
- Christian, Protestant, 173; Diocese, 202; Establishment, 202; Disestablishment, 288, 338
- Chilaw, 38
- Chinnasamy, 62
- Chronicle, The Ceylon*, 199
- Cinchona, 307
- Cinnamon Gardens (Maradana) 58, 78; (Kadirana) 78; Monopoly 77, abolished, 194
- Cleghorn, Hugh, 26, 50, 55
- Clough, Rev. Benjamin, 205
- Coconut, 310
- Coconut-tax, 41, 46, 48, 106; abolished, 57
- Coffee Planting, 168-169, 207-209, 210, 300-305
- Colebrooke, Col. W. M. B., 186-188, 197-204, 217
- Collectorates, Three, 38; Five, 58
- Collectors, 5, 58
- Colombo, Capitulation of, 26-35; Collectorate of, 38; Fort, Commander of, 37; Harbour, 288, 297-300; Municipality, 275-278; Political Council (Dutch) 18, 20, 25, 31; Siege of, 31
- Colombo Journal*, 198
- Colombo Observer*, 198

- Colonists, British, 247, 249
 Commercial Resident, 58
 Committee of Investigation, 47, 51, 57
 Commission, Royal, 186-188
 Communications, 159-167; 295-304
 Constitution of Ceylon, 238-248
 Convention, British and Muttusamy, 82-83; British, Muttusamy and Pilima Talauwe, 84; Kandyan, 127-133; Modification of, 140
 Cordiner, Rev. James, 172
 Council, (Dutch) Political, 18, 20, 25, 31; Executive, 196; H.M.'s, 74; Legisl., 196, 249, 250, 253; Reformed, 262-263
 Courts, Civil Judicature, 75; District, 195, 212; Dutch, 57, 59; Equity, 57, 59; High Court of Appeal, 75; Kandyan, 142; Police, 59, 195, 212; Provincial, 75, 97, 195; Of Requests, 195, 212; Supreme, 1st., 59; Reformed, 195
 Crown Colony Govt., 242
 Cumaraswamy, M.A., 196
 Currency, 180
 Cutchery, 38

D

- Daladā*, 'tooth-relic,' 153, 203, 217
I āna, 'food given for merit', 203
 Dambadeniya, in 7 Korales, 85; British fort, 81; attacked, 87
 Darley, J., 198
 Davie, Major Adam, 85-88, 90, 110
 Dawson, Cap. W. F., 164
 Denegamuwe Disawa, 30
 Disawa, 'Chief governor of a Province', 30
 Disawany—The territory under a disawa
 Disestablishment, 288, 338
 Disturbances, Civil, 46
 Doyle, W. E. (Milt. Gr.), 37, 46
 D'Oyly, John, 107, 113, 117, 118, 121, 124, 126, 131; Br. Resident in Kandy, 142, 143
 Draught, Col., 223, 224
 Dubash, 'man of two languages', interpreter, purveyor

Dullewe, 142

Dunuwila, 217

Dutch, Ambassadors, 44; Archives, 14, 47; Courts, 5, 7; Dealings with British, 17, 20; Factories, 11

E

Eaton, J., 255

Ecclesiastical Organization, 201; Establishment, 337-338

Education, 172-177, 200, 203, 294, 316-327; Commission of Inquiry, 318

Ehelepola, First Adigar Kandy, 114, 131, 138, 147; Rebel, 177-122; Exiled, 151; Family of, massacred, 122

Eknelligoda, 119

F

Factory, 'Trading settlement in a foreign country,' 5

Family, The, 229

Fanam, 'a coin of account, one-twelfth of rix-dolar; now 6½ or 6 cents, 180

Favell, W. E., 303

Ferguson, A. M., 199, 214, 220, 223, 260

Fish-tax, 41, 211

Fitch, Ralph, 1

Forbes, Major, 198

Fornbauer, Major J. G., 20

Four Korales, a Province of Kandy, 107, 108; annexed to the Marit. Provinces, 129; annexation repealed, 133; opposed to retention of chiefs, 137; loyal to British, 149

Fraser, Major, 164

Fraser, 24

French, capture of Trinco, 15; help expected by King of K., 112; King attempts to communicate with, 109, 217; fear of attack, 178

G

Galagama, 142

Galagedera, Br. fort, 82

Galgoda, 142

Galle, harbour, 295, 296; fort, 37; surrender, 35

Gaming-tax, 41

Ganetenna, Br. Expdt. at, 128

Gangollegoda Banda, 222

- Gansabhawa*, 'Village council', 269
 Gannoruwa, conference of chiefs at, 66
Gazette, The Govt., 93
 Geiger, W., 330
 Gemming-tax, 41
 Giriagama, Br. fort at, 82, 84
 Gordon, Sir Arthur, Gr. (1883-1890) 290
 Government, Agents, 58, 264-265; Central, 264-266; Local, 267-282; Principles of, 226-237; Self-Govt. 235
 Governors, Military, 37; Marit. Prov. See North, Maitland, Brownrigg; Ceylon, 283-294
 Government House, 94, 124
 Grandpass, 31
 Gregory, Sir W., Gr. (1872-1877) 288, 312
Gumasta, 38
 Gun-tax, 214, 218, 219

H

- Hanwella, 48, 88, 126
 Havelock, Sir Arthur Elibank, Gr. (1890-1896) 291
 Head-tax, 41
 Headman-system, 39, 49, 57, 58, 76, 266
 Hendala, 31
 Henderson, Lt., 223
Herald, The, 199
 Hilderbrand, J. G., 196
 Historical Books, 206
 Hobart, 19, 26, 30, 36, 42, 46
 Horton, Sir Robert Wilmot, Gr. (1831-1837) 189, 198, 211
 Hughes, Sir Edward, 11
 Hulftsdorp, 94
 Humpreys, Cap., 87

I

- Indigo planting, 168
Iraiya, Tam. (from Spanish 'real') 'rix-dollar, 180
 Irrigation, 311-315

J

- Jaela, 31
 Jafna, capture, 24; Fort, 37; Collectorate, 38

- Jeffry, 196
 Jervis, John, 38, 40
 Johnston, Sir Alexander, 97-98, 100-105, 111, 167, 184, 206, 311
 Johnston, Capt. Arthur, 89
 Joinville, Joseph, 58, 111
 Joy-tax, 41, 69, 106
 Jury, Trial by, 105, 248
 Justice, administration of, 59: in Kandyan Prov., 142

K

- Kadawata*, Anglice 'Gravet'—a watch house on the borders of a kingdom or district, 128, 144
 Kaduwela, 48
 Kalpitiya, English prisoners at, 2; capture of, 24; attached to collectorate of Jaffna, 38
 Kalutara, surrender, 35
 Kandesamy, 62, 82, 87
Kandy Herald, 257
 Kandy, town, old road to, 160; stages, 45; Municipality, 275
 Kandy, kingdom, annexation, 131-135; British embassys, 1762 (Pybus) 8-10; 1782 (Boyd) 12-14; 1795 (Andrews) 28-29; 1796 (Andrews) 44-45; 1803 (Maddowall) 64-66; British plans, 54, 78, 123; Communication with French, 109; Court, custom of, 10; Embassy to Madras, 30-43
 Kings of, Kirtisri, 8, 13, 108, 109, 115; Rajadi Rajasinha, 13, 29, 30, 53, 61, 62; Sri Wickrama, 61, 88, 106, 112, 116, 117, 122, 129-135; Pretenders, 62; State of, 52, 61-68; 107-111
 Kandyan Provinces: administration, 132, 142-145; annexation 131-135, amalgamation with Marit. Prov., 187, 195; Buddhist Temporalities in, 204; Coffee estates, 164, 169, 207; Courts, 195; Disestablishment, 204; Districts, 156; Gansabhawa, 269; Martial law in, 149, 218; Military posts, 148, 178; Mission schools in, 175; Population, 179; Police Courts, 195; Postal system, 174; Rebellions, 146-154, 216; Slavery, 183;
 Kandyan, attack on Br. territory, 88; Massacre of Br. troops, 87; Pretenders, 52, 62; State trial, 218; Throne, 141
 Kannasamy, 61
 Kantalay, 311
 Kapuwatta, 142

Karanduwa, 'casket', 153
 Karatota Kuda Unnanse, 122
Katikawata, 'Religious Ordinance', 153
 Kayman's Gate, 31
 Kelly, Col., 142-153
 Keppitipola, 142, 147, 150
 Kirtisri, 8, 13, 108, 109, 115
 Knox, Robert, Sr., 3, 4
 Knox, Robert, Jr., 4, 7
 Kobbekaduwa, 142
 Korteboam, 31
 Kottiar, 3, 5
Kotwal, 38
 Kuddapolle Unnanse, 222, 224
 Kunnesamy, 62

L

Lancaster, James, 1
 Land-tenure, 41
 Landraads, 59, 75
 Lee, George, 198
Lekammiti, 'Registers', 128
 Leper asylum, 177
 Leuke disawa, 68, 82, 86, 88
 Literary activities, 205
 Literature, 330
 Local Boards, 279-280
 Longdon, James Gr. (1877-1883) 298, 312
 Lorensz, C. A., 255

M

Macartney, 11-12
 Macarthy, C. Gr. (1860-1865), 285
 Macdowal, fort, 81, 84, 87, 146, 165₁
 Macdowall, Hay, 15, 64-66, 85
 Macdowall, John, 70
 Mackenzie, J. A. S. Gr. (1837-1841), 203, 211
 M'Callum, H. E. Gr. (1907-1913), 262, 294
 Madge, Capt., 87

- Madige*, 'Bullock carriage department', 144
- Madrass Civilians, 39, 58, 74, 76
- Madugala, 150, 153
- Mahabadda*, 'The great tax,' of 'the Great Department,' i.e. the Cinnamon Dept., 194
- Maha Naduwa*, 'The Great Court', 108, 142
- Maha Nayaka*, 'The chief high-priest', 68
- Mahawalatenna, 218
- Maitland, Sir Thomas, Gr. (1805-1812), 96-110
- Mannar, capture, 24; fort, 37; attached to Jaffna collectorate, 38
- Maritime Provinces—Administration: Company Govt., 36-42, 50; King's Govt., 50-51, 56-60; Crown Colony, 72; Reform, 96-106, 242; Amalgamation with Kandyan Provinces, 195; British occupation, 27-35; Civil Disturbances, 46-48, 58; Civil Establishment, 58; Civil Service, 74; Collectorates, 38; Committee of Investig., 47, 51, 57; Constitution, 73; Council, 74; Ecclesiastical establishment, 60; Garrisons, 178; Governors, 55, 74, 96, 111, 283-294; see North, Maitland, Brownrigg; Judicial Establishment, 59; Reform Land policy, 76; Martial law, 88; Population, 179; Rebellions, 214-225; Repeal of penal laws, 96; Roads, 162; War in Kandy, 78-91; See Ceylon, i.e. Maritime and Kandyan Provinces united.
- Martial law, in Kand. Prov., 149; in Marit. Provinces, 88
- Marshall, Dr. John, 198
- Matale, centre of rebellion, 219, 220
- Matara, surrender, 35, 38
- Mawata*, 'Public paths', old Kandyan highroads, 161
- Medical Service, 177
- Meuron, Regement de, 24, 26, 27, 32, 36; Count de, 26; Pierre Frederic de, 26, 27, 47, 48, 57; Milit. Gr., 37, 49, 55, 59
- Migastenne Disawa, 30, 45, 79, 107
- Military Governors, 37. See Stuart, Doyle, Bonneveaux, de Meuron
- Millewe, 142, 147
- Minneri tank, 311, 315
- Missions, 175
- Mohammedan Code, 273-278

Molligoda, 2nd Adigar Kandy, 114, 115; 1st Adig., 118-122, 124-128, 131, 148, 216; 1st Ad. under Br., 142, 216

Molligoda, Jr., 142, 217-218

Monson, Capt., 24

Morgan, R. F., 223, 255, 257, 318

Mount Lavinia, 124

Mudaliyars, 38

Mullativu, capt., 24; attached to col. of Trinco, 38

Muslims, in Kand. Prov., 144, 145, 193, 317; in Marit. Prov., 44, 80

Muturajawella, 92

Muttusamy, 53, 61, 62, 82, 83, 84, 87

N

Nationalism, 327

Nayakkars, 8, 52, 107, 115

Negombo, capture, 25

Neynde Paraveni (Ninda, 'fixed', Paraveni, 'private property of an individual or long possessed by his family'), 49

North, Frederic, Gr. (1798-1805), 50, 55, 58, 78, 95

O

O'Brien, 286

Observer, Colombo, 198

Oliphant, Sir A., 221

Oliphant, Lawrence, 223

Oostenberg, 11, 15, 20, 24

Oriental Banking Corporation, 290

Ortafula, 58

P

Paget, E. Lt. Gr., 159

Pallegampaha Adigar, 1st Adigar of Kandy

Pass Betal, 31

Patāgaya, rix-dollar=ridi-paha, 189

Pat'irippuwa ('Octagon'), 108

Pearl Fishery, 25, 40, 70, 211, 293

Persia Merchant, The, 2

Pettah, 31

Philipsz, J. G., 196

Pilima Talauwe, 52, 61, 66, 79, 84, 86, 90, 107, 108, 109, 114
 Pilima Talauwe, Jr., 142, 150
 Planting Enterprise, 207, 305-310
 Planters' Association, 283
 Point Pedro, cap., 24
 Political agitations, 236, 249-259, 260-263
 Poll-tax, 192
 Population, 179
 Postal Dept., 167
 Press, 197
 Protestant Diocese, 202
 Provinces, 264
 Purang Appu, 219, 222
 Puswelle Disawa, 122
 Pybus, John, 8-10

R

Railway, 209, 284, 285, 303, 304; extensions, 292, 304
 Rainier. Peter, 23
Rajakariya, 'King's service', i.e. compulsory service rendered to king or State in return for holdings in land, 41; abolition 188, 190; in Kand. Prov., 108
 Rajasinha I of Sitawaka, 1; II of Kandy, 2, 3, 6, 8; Kirtisri, 8, 13, 108, 109, 115; Rajadi, 13, 29, 30; Deposition, 53, 61; Death, 61; Queens, 62; Sri Wikrama, 61, 106, 116, 129-135; Attack on Hanwella, 88; Capture of, 130; Death, 131, 139; Deposition, 131, 139; Flight, 129; Hostility to Br., 112; Massacre of Ehelepole's family, 122; Massacre of British troops, 87; Queens, 117
 Raket, Com., 24
 Rangasamy, 62
Rata, 5, 120, 156
 Ratwatta, 107, 109; Jr., 142, 147
 Raymond, Lt-Col., 31
 Read, J., 196
 Rebellions, in Mar. Prov., 48; in Kand. Prov., 215, 217, 218, 219, 216-225
 Reforms, 188, 189, 245
 Religion and State, 232

Revenues, 39, 41, 185

Ridi-pahz, 'Five-ridis', rix-dollar

Roads, in Mar. Prov., 160-166, 301-302; in Kand. Prov., 162

Road Committee, 281-282

Road-tax, 214

Robinson, Sir Hercules, Gr. (1865-1872), 272, 287, 312

Rosario, Dr. Vincente de, 201

Royal Commission, 186-188

Ruanwella, 88, 120, 126

Rubber, 309

Rumley, Capt., 87

Rutland, Stephen. 7

S

Sabaragamuwa, Province of Kandy, 107, 129, 133; Offered to Br., 119, 121; Opposed to retention of chiefs, 137; Rebels of, 122

Salt-tax, 41

Sansoni, Joseph, 177

Sattaliya, 180

Sawers, Simon, 142, 146

Schools, 172-176; Catholic schools, 200; School Commission, 317; Committee, 200; Mission schools, 317; Commission of Inquiry, 318

Schneider, Capt., 102

Scotchmen in Ceylon, 1

Selby, H. C., 222, 223

Selby, John, 223

Sepoys, 24

Service-tenure, 46, 48, 49, 57, 76, 99, 100, 191-192

Seven Korales, Prov. of Kandy, 82, 83, 107, 108, 122, 137

Shop-tax, 214

Sitawaka, 53, 64, 126

Skinner, Thomas, 160, 164, 218, 269

Slavery, 181-184, 212

Small-pox, 63, 70, 177

Social Development, 316-340

Society, Natural, 228

State, The, 230-233

State Trial, 218

State-church, 202, 232, 337

Stuart, James, Maj-Gen., 23, 24, 25; Milt. Gr., 37, 45, 46

Stewart Mackenzie, See Mackenzie

Suffren, Bailli de, 15

Sugar plantation, 168

Sumangala, Sri, 330

Sunderland, 75, 142

T

Tamarind, (Tamar-i-Hindi, 'Date of India') Sin. *Siyambala*

Tambasalliyā 180

Tanque Salgado, 94

Tappal ('The Post'; the carriage and delivery of letters), 167

Taxes, 41, 69, 214

Tea, 308

Temporalities, Buddhist, 204

Tennent, Sir Emerson, 199, 212, 218, 219, 223

Three Korales, Prov. of Kandy, 108, 129, 133, 137, 149

Thompson, W., 255

Thwaites, Dr., 305

Times, The Ceylon, 199

Tissawewa, 315

Tobacco-tax, 41

Toddy-tax, 41

Tolfrey, W., 205

Tolls, 41

Torrington, Viscount, Gr. (1847-1850), 199, 213, 219, 220, 224, 225

Trimen, Dr., 309

Trincomalie, 11, 13, 15, 19-23; fort of, 37; Collectorate of, 38; Harbour, 73, 91; Hd. quarters of navy, 178

Turnour, Geo., 198, 205, 206, 328

Turtle fishing, tax on, 41

Tuttuwa, (Dutch 'stuiwer'), 180

Twisleton, T. J., 173

U

Udagampahe Adigar, 2nd Adigar of Kandy, 28

Uliyam, 'Service', manual labour imposed on Moors and Chetties as foreigners 57, 193

University education, 324, 325

V

Vakil, 'Pleader', 'responsible agent', 8

Vanni, formed into a kingdom, 83

Vaugine, Major, 32

Veranda-tax, 214

Vernaculars, neglect of, 320

Vidana, 38

Village Committees, 270-271

Village Councils, 268

Village Tribunals, 268, 272

W

Wall, Geo., 254, 255, 260, 291

Ward, Sir H. Ward, Gr. (1855-1860), 284, 270, 315

Watson, Capt., 223, 224

Wellesly at Trinco., 68

Wemyss, Maj-Gen. D. G., 89

West Ridgeway, Sir J., Gr. (1896-1903), 292, 293, 314

Wijayasinghe, L. C., 330

Winter, E., 6

Winter, G., 198

Wickrama Rajasinha, Sri, see Rajasinha

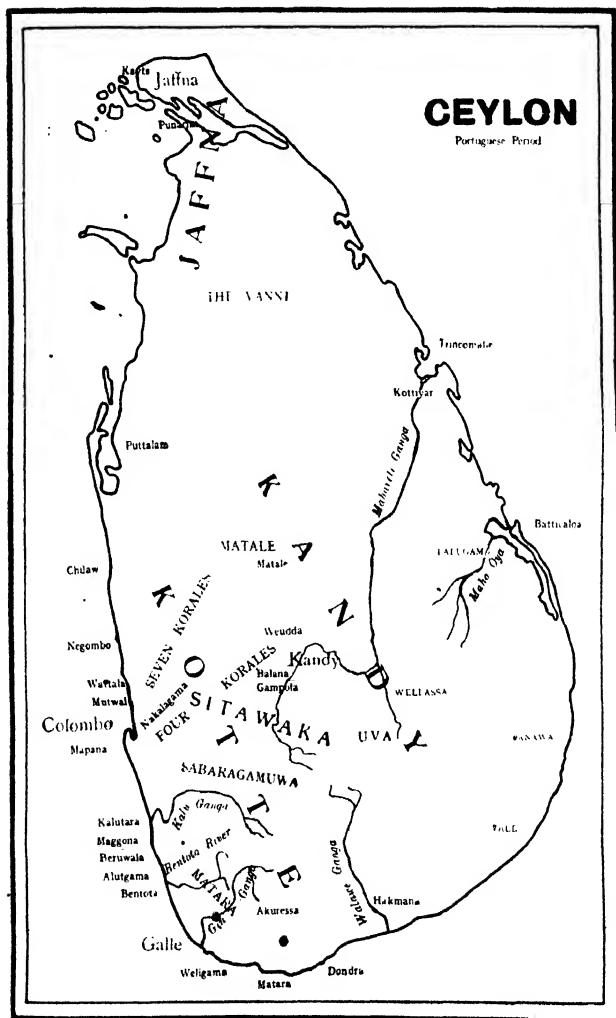
Wilson, J., Lt-Gr., 104, 189

Wilson, S. D., 146

Wolvendaal, 172

Wood, Alexander, 110

Woodhouse, 223



Dutch Period.

